

The DC Gazette

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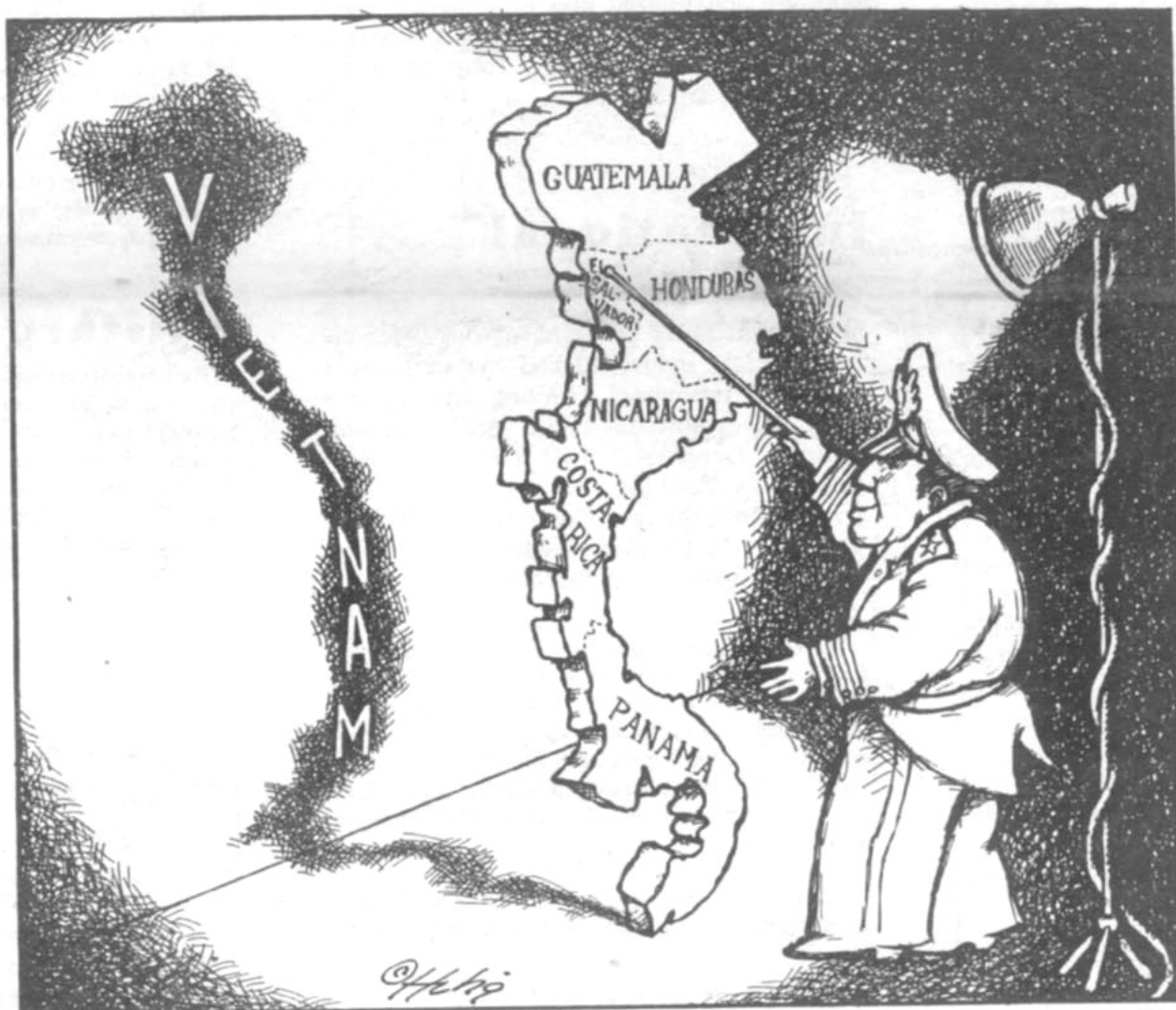
MAY 1983

Whole Number 230

BLACK POLITICS



THE REAL GANDHI



NEW WOMEN'S MOVEMENT



WORLD AT WAR

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PROGRESSIVE DIGEST

Economics

Despite an increase in the number of two-income households, the spending power of American families has dropped steadily over the past decade. A report by Rutgers University's Center for Urban Policy Research says that between 1973 and 1980, real family income dropped \$1,300, down to an average \$21,000 a year. Research director Dr. George Sternlieb says it would have fallen even lower were it not for the increase in the number of working wives. Sternlieb blames that income drop on the increase in oil prices, and notes that the recent OPEC price war could signal a return to climbing incomes for the American family.

Contrary to popular belief, America's factories aren't dying of old age and unreasonable union demands. A new study says the real culprit is bad management. Duke University business professor Roger Schmenner says the average factory that closed in the '70s was less than 20 years old, and a third were no more than six years old. Few of the closings were brought about by union attitudes, he found. Most were caused by too many product variations, too much expansion and too many employees.

Cuts in school funds are forcing more and more teachers to take second jobs. The National Education Association says 11 percent of all teachers now moonlight, up from six percent in 1971. The reason: poor pay. Government statistics show the average teacher's salary is \$5000 below the federal definition of a "moderate" income for a family of four.

The Census Bureau reports that the number of people living below the poverty line has reached its highest total in fifteen years. There are now about 32 million people in this category, or 14 percent of the population. The south has the greatest concentration of poverty (17.8%) and while one in nine whites is poor, one in three blacks and one in four hispanics are.

The economy is so bad that people will pay to stand in line for jobs. Alaska Airlines, which had 30-40 jobs available, charged applicants \$10 each, purportedly to cover administrative costs. More than five thousand people showed up anyway and paid the fee.

A demonstration is being planned for

July 4th near Kansas City, Missouri, where a large amount of surplus food is stored in mammoth limestone caves. A tent city will be erected and a fast begun. According to the Community for Creative Non-Violence, national stockpiles of food include 9 bushels of grain and more than 95 pounds of other food for every low-income person in America. And in spite of recent food giveaways, more food is coming into the stockpiles than is going out. Meanwhile, the food crisis has gotten so serious that in Boston, for example, community groups are serving 14,000 more meals per month than they were in 1980. Emergency food supplies in New York City have become so strained that the food programs no longer give out their phone numbers or addresses. In Fort Lauderdale, Fla., a city commissioner has proposed that trash cans be sprayed with kerosene or insecticide to discourage scavenging and in Phoenix, garbage has been declared city property, with anyone foraging for food liable to the charge of theft.

International

According to the arch-conservative Washington Times, there has been a significant shift to right among 24 non-communist industrialized nations over the past ten years. Among the nations that have shifted right are Belgium, Britain, Denmark, West Germany, Holland, New Zealand, Norway, Turkey and the United States. Countries that have shifted left are Australia, France, Greece, Spain, and Sweden.

The United States and Israel may be having their differences in Lebanon, but all is sweetness and light in the United Nations. A tally of last year's votes shows Israel sided with the U.S. more often than any other country—nearly 90% of the time. Albania had the lowest score—8.8%—but Russia voted with the U.S. at least one in five times—more often than either China or Mexico.

The domino theory is alive and well in the Reagan administration—and heading for Tucson: the president's

ambassador-at-large, General Vernon Walters, is accusing Cuba of trying to promote a move by Chicano activists to seize control of Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, Nevada and California. Since the early '70s, the Raza Unida Party has been pushing the idea of an independent nation called "Aztlán," made up of territory the U.S. took from Mexico by force in the mid-1800s. Walters says he has no proof the Cubans are behind the move, but says, "It's just the sort of thing they would be likely to do." A La Raza Unida official says his group has sent delegates to Cuba and other Latin American countries, but adds, "We are not part of a Castro plot. Cuba is too similar to the Soviet Union for us."

Peace

The movement against the nuclear arms race is spilling over into the nation's college classrooms. Schools across the country are offering courses such as "Security in the Nuclear Age" and "The Roots of Nuclear Confrontation." As Seattle University professor Gary Chamberlain puts it, "We have a military science program, why not peace studies?" Not everyone is in favor of the courses, however. University of Washington professor Herbert Ellison, for instance, regards them as a fad. "It reminds me somewhat of the more extravagant environmentalism of the '60s," he says. But fellow faculty member Arthur Lumsdaine feels an educated citizenry is the country's best hope for averting nuclear war. "Many people have the feeling that what we do will be too little, too late," says Lumsdaine, "but some of us are not that pessimistic."

Military

The board of the California Nurses Association, which represents health workers all around the state, is informing its national organization, the American Nurses Association, that California nurses oppose any restoration of the draft. Should the draft be restored, the nurses' letter adds, it should only apply to "individuals that have constitutionally guaranteed equal rights."

The nurses' letter comes in the wake of revelations by columnist Ellen Goodman, that the Defense Depart-

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The Gazette welcomes articles, letters and photos as well as short stories and poems, but cannot, unfortunately, afford to pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped self-addressed envelope if you wish material returned.

Deadline for editorial and advertising matter: 15th of the month.

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CONTRIBUTING CORRESPONDENTS: Chuck Stone, Eric Green, Bob Alperin, Josiah X. Swampoodle, Jon Rowe, Charles McDowell, Eugene McCarthy
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In the last issue the address of the Women's Legal Defense Fund was listed incorrectly. The correct address is 2000 P Street NW (400) DC 20036.

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Memo to public interest groups & progressive organizations

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• We would also welcome copies of policy papers and testimony.

• We will be happy to run without charge information on the resources you provide, requests for assistance, or help wanted ads. First priority, however, will go to those who type them for us. We prefer 3" or 6" margins.

• Let us know about important staff changes.

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ment is hoping to amend draft laws to require that all health care workers—both men and women—register with the Selective Service.

The San Francisco office of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, meanwhile, says the so-called "doctors draft" proposal has been in the works for some time. Phyllis Larimore of the CCCO reports the American Medical Association endorsed the proposal last summer. It is an open secret, she adds, that the Army reserve is badly in need of 23,000 nurses.

Health

Calling Nyquil nothing more than "50-proof alcohol with its own shot glass," a national consumer organization is pressuring the Food and Drug Administration to crack down on ineffective over-the-counter drugs. The Health Research Group, founded by Ralph Nader, contends that over two-thirds of the ingredients in popular medications are unsafe. Director Sidney Wolfe says the FDA should at least require labels for ineffective drugs, but he says "that's too honest" for the Reagan administration. Industry representatives have denied the charges. Evan Siegel of the Proprietary Association, a trade group, says that marketplace is the true test. "When a drug works," he says, "people buy it."

Low-level radiation from video display terminals may pose 10 times the health hazard previously estimated.

So says Doctor Edward Radford, a leading authority of the subject and the chair of a National Academy of Sciences Committee on the Biological Effects of Radiation.

Radford revealed in a recent press conference that the advisory committee's 1980 report was released only after the committee reduced original estimates of how much cancer is caused by low-level radiation. Radford himself objected to those changes, saying the higher cancer projections were correct.

Radford based his estimates on new studies of people who survived the atomic blasts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Those studies indicate that the survivors' cancer rates are steadily rising, although they received at least one-third less radiation than previously suspected.

Leonard Green, who is president of the Institute for Socioeconomic Studies, suggests that federal medical benefits be provided on a payback system using a surcharge on the income tax. Green proposes a ten percent surcharge. Thus, if a person owed little or no income tax he or she might never have to pay back the full costs of medical services, but wealthier persons would pay back the costs proportionately quicker.

A new study by Canadian researchers has concluded that tests using automatic smoking machines indicate pot may have nearly four times as much "tar" as ordinary cigarettes. Earlier research has reached just the opposite conclusion, but the Canadians say their study is more reliable.

Environment

When nuclear freeze lobbyists came to DC in March, most of the legislators on the Hill gave them a friendly reception. There were, however, exceptions. After weeks of trying to make an appointment with Senator Alfonse D'Amato, reports Sane World, the New York delegation was told he was firm on the issue and would be unable to meet with them. Some 300 New Yorkers responded by filing into his office one by one to sign the guest book and leave proxies, forming a line down flights of stairs. Police were called, but did nothing because of the crowd's orderliness. When D'Amato finally arrived, he complained of a congested chest and promised to meet with the lobbyists at a later date in New York.

Louisiana Representative John Breaux says only 10 of the 10,000 hazardous waste dumps licensed by the

PROGRESS DOESN'T HAVE TO BE DULL

A lot of journals of the left-liberal-progressive persuasion tend to be heavy going. The Gazette has a different idea. It believes that progress should be fun. As Emma Goldman said, "If I can't dance I don't want to join your revolution."

A lot of journals of the left-liberal-progressive persuasion tend to be written tediously. The Gazette has a different idea. The Gazette believes in good writing. Not fancy, strident or self-indulgent writing, but writing that moves the heart and mind.

That's why the Gazette is unique among progressive publications. For seventeen years it has been fighting for social and political change with style and humor. Here are just a few of the things you'll find in the Gazette:

- **THE PROGRESSIVE DIGEST:** a round-up of news items about the environment, politics, the economy, justice, peace, the military and the sexes that are significant but which you are not likely to find in the corporate media.

- **THE BEST OF THE ALTERNATIVE NEWS SERVICES:** Pacific News Service, HerSay News Service, College Press Service, Community Press Features and Rip 'n' Read.

- **ARTHUR HOPPE:** A rare creature: a truly funny and progressive syndicated humorist.

- **EUGENE McCARTHY:** writing with savvy, conscience and wit.

- **DAVID ARMSTRONG:** the former editor of the Berkeley Barb and author of a fine book on the alternative press covers the social and political waterfront in his American Journal.

- **CHUCK STONE:** Senior editor of the Philadelphia Daily News and one of the country's leading black journalists. Stone, the author of numerous books on social justice, has been a part of the civil rights movement since before there hardly was any.

- **CHARLES McDOWELL:** The gentle humor and perceptions of a man long regarded as one of the best writers in the Washington press corps.

- **APPLE PIE:** A smorgasbord of ironic, revealing or just plain funny items about what it means to be an American.

- **LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS:** The off-the-wall perspectives of humorist Dave Barry.

- **FINDING OUT MORE:** Where to get more information on matters of interest to activists and progressives.

- **FACT SHEETS:** Basic information on important social and political issues.

- **THE PRESS:** Bob Alperin pores through the media to find what it being done right, wrong or not at all.

The Gazette is edited by Sam Smith, a longtime activist-journalist whose work has appeared in numerous publications both here and abroad. The Washington Post once called him a "friendly anarchist." The Washington Star once wrote: "What Sam Smith and the paper he edits are all about is a combination of things Americans profess to hold dear: iconoclasm, a deeply felt sense of community and, above all, independence." The Washington Tribune called him "One of the best writers in a city full of good writers." Not merely an arm-chair observer, Smith has been active in national campaigns such as the McCarthy and Fred Harris efforts and was a co-organizers of one of the few third parties ever to win public office in recent times.

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EPA have met federal operating standards. Besides, he noted, land-filling—the government's favorite method of hazardous waste disposal—allows deadly chemicals to leach into the surrounding soil and contaminate drinking water. Breaux says the highly touted "Superfund" cleanup is a fraud, since it merely involves shifting toxic muck from one place to another. "We're faced," he says, "with the possibility of spending millions of dollars to clean up chemical wastes that have been disposed of legally."

More than 400 experts, activists and citizens from 36 states met March 25–27 for Critical Mass '83, a national safe energy conference convened by Public Citizen.

"We are here today to renew our commitment to phasing out nuclear power and to show that workable, affordable alternatives exist that are safer, can create thousands of jobs, and that would enhance our national

security through conservation and decentralized power sources," Ralph Nader told the Washington conference.

'Soft path' energy planners Amory and Hunter Lovins delivered a keynote address warning of the dangers of the nation's highly centralized power systems, advocating their replacement with a decentralized system of alternative and renewable systems.

Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.) criticized Reagan administration support of an industry that is "tottering on the brink of financial collapse," and called for a dramatic strengthening of ties between Washington lobbyists and grass roots activists.

The conference was endorsed by the 830,000-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. George Robinson, director of IAM's health and safety branch, told the conference that his union has "25,000 members directly exposed to radioactive materials in the manufacturing, processing, shipbuilding and hardware industry... The incidence of cancer and leukemia among exposed workers is from 2 to 2.5 times

greater than the incidence of cancer in the population at large.

Held on the campus of Howard University, conference co-sponsors include Howard's Political Science Department, Blacks Against Nukes and the Washington Conference on Africa. Conference minority representatives included Michele Tingling, energy consultant and former chair of Minorities Organized for Renewable Energy; Russell Jim, Edler, Yakima Tribal Elder; and Leanne Sowande-Brent, Director of the Urban Ark, an Illinois service organization creating low-cost passive solar devices for low and middle income families.

Copies of the Critical Mass '83 program and conference books, summarizing the remarks of workshop participants are now available from Critical Mass. Price is \$15 per packet (including postage and handling); order from Critical Mass '83 Conference Packet, Box 1538, Washington, D.C. 20013.

A year after its spectacular eruption, Mexico's El

FINDING OUT MORE

The Center for Popular Economics in Amherst, Massachusetts is offering a week-long course in economics for activists in labor unions; religious, community, minority and women's organizations; the environmental movement, and other progressive groups. There will be three one-week sessions of the Summer Institute for Popular Economics at Hampshire College in Amherst in 1983: July 10–16, July 31–August 6, and August 14–20.

The week-long course provides an intensive exposure to economic analysis, facts and research methods. Topics covered include unemployment, inflation, the tax revolt, the U.S. and the Third World, unions and labor markets, the economics of racism and sexism, occupational health and safety, the environment, run-away shops, and Reaganomics. The goal of the Institute is to provide activists with economic knowledge and skills that will help them in their organizing and political work, and in combatting "New Right economics."

The cost for the seven-day session, for room, board, and the use of recreational facilities is \$200 for low income people and \$330–440 for others. Scholarships are available. Info: the Center for Popular Economics, P.O. Box 785, Amherst, Massachusetts, 01004.

Useful Numbers

To order documents from the Government Printing Office:

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402
(202) 783-3238

Office of any member of Congress and Committee and Subcommittee can be reached by calling (202) 224-3121.

Legislative States Office:
Information on status of legislation in either House or Senate, whether Committee hearings have been held and dates of upcoming hearings, number of Committee reports, etc. (202) 225-1772.

Cloakroom tapes:
These tapes provide running accounts of proceedings on House and Senate floors.

Senate: (202) 224-8541 (Democratic)
(202) 224-8601 (Republican)
House: (202) 225-7400 (Democratic)
(202) 225-7430 (Republican)

• Good newsletter for happenings in Congress: MARK-UP, by the National Council of Churches, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

• The Institute for Social Justice released a calendar of 12 sessions from now thru June. Included are: Organizing Perspectives for Church Social Action (Syracuse and St. Louis, both in May); Grassroots Fundraising (Dallas in April, Detroit in June), plus Organizing Perspectives for Lawyers (Dallas, June) and other topics. For more information, contact Terry Thompson, 4415 San Jacinto, Dallas, TX 75204, 214/827-8520.

• The Grantsmanship Center will sponsor 4-7 grantwriting workshops a month all over the place. Fee is \$275 for 2 days. For a calendar, write 1031 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90015.

• For the meatiest (and most expensive) resource directory of non-profit resources, there's NPO RESOURCE REVIEW, Caller Box A-6, Cathedral Station, NY, NY 10025. \$70.00.

• Check out LOOKING AT INCOME GENERATING BUSINESSES FOR SMALL NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, published by the Center for Community Change, 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20007. CCC continues to put out some of the very best community guides (terrific graphics). Write for publications list.

• The Bread and Roses Project of the District 1199 Cultural Center has released a catalog of offerings of posters, books, records, etc. at great prices. Included is what we thought was the long-lost labor history classic, LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY (\$5.95). Write them at 310 W. 43rd St., NY, NY 10036.

• EVERYBODY'S BACK YARD is an organizing newsletter on hazardous materials put out by Lois Gibbs' Citizens' Clearinghouse on Hazardous Waste, Box 7097, Arlington, VA 22207. Good tips, war stories and notes on resources. Donation.

• SUBSIDIZED HOUSING HANDBOOK. \$25 + \$2.75 p&h for community organizations and Legal Services workers. By the National Housing Law Program, 2150 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704.

• For interesting films, exhibits, records, postcards, etc., there's the Center for Southern Folklore, 1216 Peabody, Memphis, TN 38104. Write for their catalog.

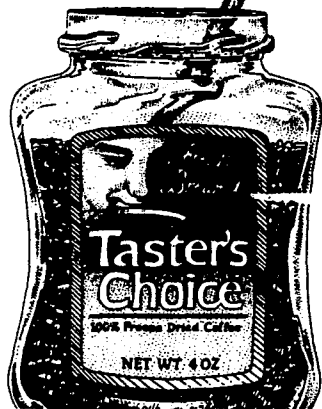
• Need help managing your organization? Board problems? Accounting Nightmares? Contact The Support Center, 1709 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009, 202/232-0100. They have interesting, reasonably priced management guides, also conduct training and on-site consultation and can help you line up donated accounting services.

Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Pilgrimage

Americans concerned about peace and nuclear issues will visit Japan this summer on a two-week Peace Pilgrimage. The group will join the World Conference Against A & H Bombs, and will hold special seminars and discussions with Japanese activists. The group will also explore Kyoto, Japan's ancient spiritual center, and other places of cultural interest and natural beauty. The Peace Pilgrimage takes place July 31 to August 13, but reservations should be made by May 31. For information please contact Grassroots Tours, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW, #533, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 293-6949.

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Chichon Volcano is still affecting our climate, and the worst may be yet to come. Recent surveys indicate a huge cloud of sulfurous gasses from the eruption is moving steadily northward and will soon cover much of the northern hemisphere. At the University of Maryland, meteorologist Alan Robock is predicting a one-degree drop in temperatures next year. He believes El Chichon will influence our weather for the next decade, making it the most devastating volcano since the eruption of Krakatoa in 1883.

Action notes

The Citizen Labor/Energy Coalition recently ran a doorbell-ringing campaign in 20 states that it claims is probably the largest political door-to-door canvassing effort in recent years. Over 50,000 homes were reached in the effort to change the energy pricing system in the US.

ADA's press secretary, Frank Gallo is looking for interns and volunteers who are interested in performing public relations, research and writing chores for the organization. Call him at 202-638-6447 or write to ADA, 1411 K NW, DC 20005.

Military

Civilian Congress, which argues that it is unconstitutional for members of Congress to also hold military commissions, is not getting any help from the Pentagon in updating its list of officer-legislators. Anyone with suggestions as to how to go about this should write Civilian Congress, 2361 Mission St. #238, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Citizen Soldier reports that two thousand gays are being involuntarily separated from the military each year, a 25% increase over the numbers a decade ago. Two thirds of these cases are based simply on their status as homosexuals - not for any alleged acts.

Women

A coalition of 55 national organizations has attacked the president's budget as being "especially cruel to women." The Coalition on Women and the Budget released a study which noted areas that would especially affect women: a \$1.2 billion reduction in Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a \$757 million reduction in food stamp benefits and an increase in out-of-pocket expenses that Medicare patients must pay. The group also noted that Reagan's plan to eliminate the Legal Services Corporation would hit women hardest since 67 percent of the agencies clients are women and children.

Arkie Byrd, staff attorney for the Women's Legal Defense Fund in Washington, says companies that plan to hire "too many" women or minorities would lose department approval of their affirmative action plans. Such companies would also risk losing their federal contracts down the road, says Byrd, who adds the upshot of these proposals is that they "discourage" contractors who "want to do good."

John Fox, executive assistant to the director of the Labor Department's contract compliance office, says the instructions are "a clarification of long-standing policy." He noted that the government doesn't want hiring goals to exceed "availability." Reaching goals takes longer in this recessionary economy, said Fox, but "we don't have

The Dellums Alternative

by Betsy Taylor

One of the most visionary and vocal critics of the Pentagon's budget is Congressman Ron Dellums (D-CA). This year, Representative Dellums has proposed an alternative defense budget calling for deep cuts in defense spending and challenging the basic assumptions used to justify the Reagan Administration's military buildup.

Dellums advocates cutting \$65 billion from President Reagan's \$273 billion Pentagon spending proposal for fiscal year 1984. In a substitute Defense Authorization bill he plans to present to Congress, Dellums spells out the military programs he believes should be scrapped. In particular, he calls for sweeping reductions in funding for destabilizing nuclear weapons such as the MX, Trident II, Pershing II and cruise missiles. He would reduce the number of overseas forces based on a re-evaluation of U.S. foreign commitments and reject the proposed massive expansion to a 620-ship Navy. In addition, he would cut all funds for the Rapid Deployment Force.

Last February, Dellums won the chairmanship of the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities, giving him the opportunity to conduct hearings and raise critical questions on these and other military issues. His new position has aroused concern within the military establishment, who are used to unquestioned support by the Armed Services Committee.

Because his proposals go far beyond the usual parameters of debate on Capitol Hill, and question the very assumptions on which U.S. foreign and military policy is based, Dellums' version of the Defense Authorization bill is unlikely to receive substantial support. A similar proposal was defeated by 348 to 55 last year (see September 1982 SW).

But the current political climate in Washington should not cloud the importance of Ron Dellums' efforts. His proposal, guided by a vision of a non-interventionist U.S. military posture, is a mark of sanity at a time when much of the "defense" budget has little to do with defense. For more information or a copy of the Dellums proposal, please contact his office: Rep. Ron Dellums, 2136 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Betsy Taylor is working with SANE on the military budget. --SANE World

control over opportunities." He added that companies exceeding the proper number of women or minorities could be liable to private reverse-discrimination suits.

Companies have greeted the prospect of these new regulations with almost unanimous dismay, says George Sape, a New-York-based equal opportunity consultant. Lawrence Branch, director of equal opportunity affairs for Merck & Company, says that the government is "discouraging us from taking affirmative action."

Consumer

Consumer activists say a new product liability bill under debate in the Senate would virtually prevent anyone from recovering damages for injuries caused by a defective product. The bill, proposed by Wisconsin Senator Robert Kasten, would prohibit victims from suing for monetary compensation unless they can prove the manufacturer knew the product was defective. That, according to the Nader group "Congress Watch," is nearly impossible. The Kasten bill is supported by business and trade associations, who claim the existing law - under which the manufacturer need not be proved negligent - is unfair.

Politics

ADA holds its 1983 convention June 2-5 at the Capitol Hilton in DC.

Shop talk

We have received the the third issue of a newsletter put out by the Tactical Research and Investigations Network (10129 Thornwood Road, Kensington, Md. 20895). It is filled with useful information for activists such as a report on the current attempts to "defund the left." TRAIN is an independent

center that serves community organizations, church groups, labor unions, regional and national public interest groups and agencies that support the efforts of low and moderate income people to organize for social justice.

The socialist weekly, *In These Times*, which nearly folded last fall, has raised \$160,000 to keep going thanks to contributions from more than 3000 readers, a 25% increase in the subscription price and some cost-cutting. Staffers, who had been on half-pay, are now back at full salary.

Jill Raymond has been named administrative assistant at the National Moratorium on Prisons Washington office. She formerly was with the ACLU National Prison Project and once was jailed for 14 months for contempt of court after refusing to cooperate with a federal grand jury subpoena. Raymond has worked with the DC National Lawyers Guild and served as coordinator of the DC Area Feminist Alliance.

Michele Guirmain is the new coordinator for the Washington Peace Center. She has worked with feminist, older people's groups and with anti-nuclear organizations. Currently she is involved with the People's Music Network. Iris Rothman has been named editor and public information director at the Campaign for Political Rights. She was an editor and writer in Mississippi and later joined the Legal Services Corporation in DC.

Justice

The American Civil Liberties Union in New Orleans has filed a class-action suit against the city, charging the police and sheriff's offices with falsely arresting several hundred people all because the departments' computer has been acting up.

The weekly trade publication, *Computerworld*, reports the suit is being brought by a Shirley Jones, on behalf of others who also consider themselves wronged by the computer. Jones, a black mother of three, has been booked twice in the past year and jailed once as a result of alleged computer foul-ups. Her first arrest came after the state department of health ran a routine computer check on Jones, so she could take into her home five nieces and nephews who would otherwise have been placed elsewhere.

The day after the computer check, Jones was reportedly arrested because her name was used as an alias by a woman who was sought on theft and forgery charges. Jones was imprisoned for 18 hours, despite the fact that she was born on a different date, is six inches shorter and considerable pounds lighter than the other woman. The Jefferson Parish Sheriff's office insisted the differences were easily explained because the department's computer was always "a little off."

Charges against Jones were dismissed in April of last year but she was subpoenaed on the same charges in August. When Jones went to the sheriff's office to clear up the matter, she was fingerprinted. She was also offered a bit of advice: authorities suggested she change her name to keep the same mistake from happening again.

Well, we're closing the gender gap because we're losing support among men - White House political adviser Edward J. Rollins, quoted in the Los Angeles Times.



SAM SMITH

Running Times reports that Senator Paul Tsongas was out training for the Boston Marathon when his beeper sounded. At the time he was a mile and half from the Senate. With only fifteen minutes to get to the Senate he ran straight to the Senate chamber doors in his running togs only to be told he couldn't enter looking like that. So Tsongas cast his vote by yelling at the top of his lungs from outside the Senate door.

Hawk-eyed Washington Times reporters uncovered a memo written by the director of the lottery commission in which he said the firm that won the city's numbers game contract was in "apparent violation" of a law that defines minority ownership and control of a business. Presented with the memo, the director, Bill Jameson, said the memo "is not a valid memorandum. It was supposed to be destroyed."

Jack Newfield writes in the Village Voice: "Public authorities are a powerful, self-perpetuating, unaccountable fourth branch of *** government. *** Public authorities are not responsible to the electorate in the same way that other government agencies are. Public authority budgets are not subject to line item approval by either the Division of the Budget or any *** legislative committee. The authorities are outside the civil service law and the state union structure. Authorities don't have to hold public hearings. They are exempted from most of the fiscal restraints on all the other agencies of state government." We have a growing number of public authorities, ranging from Metro to the Lottery Commission, that share some if not all of these characteristics. It is a matter that have been overlooked far too long.

There is an assumption in many quarters that Chicago is the last major city with a full-blown patronage system. In fact, patronage is alive and well all over America. What really has happened is that the recipients of patronage have changed from being individuals to being institutions and corporations.

Take DC, for example, where corporate patronage has become almost the raison d'être of government. As just one case in point, consider the Metro Center project. The city-owned land involved is worth, at some estimates, \$110 million. Oliver Carr and Ted Hagans are getting it for a price that, according to circumstances and calculations will range between \$29 million and \$52 million (the difference being the unguaranteed profit cut the city will get and whether you account for inflation or not. At best, therefore, the city will be, in effect, providing at least \$58 million in political patronage to Carr and Hagans. In nasty, corrupt Chicago that would be enough to provide 290 \$20,000-a-year patronage jobs for a whole decade. See how much better off we are?

Meanwhile, we learn from Carole Baker that \$37,000 is too much money to spend on reproducing the land use map for the comprehensive plan and so therefore there will be — are you sitting down? — one copy made and put on display at the MLK Library. There will, it must be admitted, slides produced of the map which will be distributed to all 36 neighborhood commissions, so all you have to do is find a commission with a slide projector and an office with shades that pull down and you'll be all set.

The comprehensive plan is meaningless without a land use map. It is, in fact, the map — and not the incoherent babblings of city planners that will have the real force of law. The way things stand now, the plan may be the first city law you won't be able to get a copy of. It is a scheme worthy of James Watt. Good grief, what is Barry doing? Bucking for a cabinet appointment?

The Dupont Circle Neighborhood Commission is asking citizens to let it know if they think the ANC should invest in "Scoop the Poop" anti-dog litter signs which would detail the existing anti-poop law and be placed throughout the neighborhood. Not having seen such a sign, I have no thoughts, but if they'll make a slide of it and put it on file at Blue Plains, I'll try to get over for a look.

Wanda Washburn writes: "The DC Public schools and the children of this city have lost a true friend. Harriet Burg, parent and activist in the affairs of the DC public schools for many years, and most recently counsel to Hilda Mason's city council committee on education, died on April 4. I note her passing because I have not only lost a friend, but because I wanted those who care about public education in the District to realize that we have lost a fighter for the cause of public education. Her good works sustain us; her energy and her positive concerns will continue to serve as encouragement."

Charlene Jarvis and Polly Shackleton have introduced a bill that would be the first US legislation attempting to implement the World Health Organization's marketing code on infant formula. The legislation is also based on recommendations adopted last year by the American Academy of Pediatrics. The legislation requires balanced education about infant feeding choices and active support for breastfeeding. The bill also is aimed at ending the present practice of indiscriminate free samples. The measure has been co-sponsored by seven other members of the council.

City Administrator Elijah Rogers goes to work this month for the Alexander Grant & Company, which (and we're assured it's just coincidence) received \$800,000 in city contracts over the past years. It used to be assistant corporation counsels who were the chief revolving doormen (popping up at developer law firms) but now we've hit the big time.

Your city council is drifting into increased contempt for local sunshine rules by holding secret confabs before the formal and pro-forma open sessions.

The Art Deco Society holds its first annual ball on June 11th from 9 to 2 at the Shoreham. Tickets are \$25 (which covers two drinks and light fare). checks should be made payable to ADSW — Art Deco Ball and sent to PO Box 53290, DC 20009. If you want to join the society, the most exciting thing that has happened in local preservation since Joe Grano first set eyes on Rhodes Tavern, write them at PO Box 11090, DC 20008. What are the best Art Deco buildings in Washington? ADS president Richard Striner offers these nominations: the Hecht Company warehouse on New York Ave., the Greenbelt Elementary School, 4801 Conn. Ave. NW, the Kennedy-Warren, the Majestic apartment building, 3200 16th NW, the Library of Congress Annex, the C&P building on 12th St., the J.J. Early Polychrome House, 9900 Coleville Road, the Uptown Theatre and the Penn Theatre. He gives honorable mention to the Bosley Dog & Cat Hospital on Mass. Ave. NE and the Progressive Cleaners, 4001 Lee Highway, Arlington, Va.

One of the biggest cable-television franchising operations, American Television & Communications Corp., has pulled out of four urban cable tv franchise fights and says it will keep out of others in the future. The Wall Street Journal reports: "ATC's about-face reflects changes that are altering the plans of the entire cable industry. As the decades-long race to win urban franchises draws to a close, few companies are bidding on the major cities still without cable, such as Baltimore, San

[Please turn to page 28]

Last month the city council approved a package of user fee hikes that will, among other things, double your water bill by 1988. It is argued that the water and sewer fund is running a deficit and that it is being "subsidized" by the general fund. We are in a period of rapidly rising user fees supported by politicians who don't want to go into campaigns with the burden of having raised taxes. The fact that dollar for dollar a fee costs you as much as a tax is glossed over. Worse, fees can cost you more. For example, if the new water bill increases had been taken out of the property tax you could have deducted the amount from your federal income tax. Thus the new fees are costing you more than they should with no additional benefit to the city. Remember that when you hear a politician boasting about not voting for property tax increases.

An Interview with Me'ir Pa'il

by Jolanta Benal

Dr. Me'ir Pa'il, a well-known Israeli historian, soldier, politician and peace activist was a member of the Shock-Troops (Palmach) of the Haganah underground organization before the establishment of the State of Israel. He fought in the Israeli War of Independence and joined afterwards the regular service of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). He was discharged from the regular service in 1971 after being a Brigade Commander, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces Military Academy and Chief of the Department of Tactics and Operational Doctrine of the Armed Forces Supreme General Staff. His doctoral dissertation on the Haitian Black Slaves' Revolt was awarded the Dr. Hannah Rubin Prize, and his work on military history, Middle Eastern modern history, and the Arab-Israeli conflict has been widely published in Israel and abroad.

Me'ir Pa'il was a member of the Knesset (Parliament) between 1973-1980, representing the Radical Zionist Peace Initiative groups. From 1976 to 1981, he represented Sheli, the Israeli Peace Party.

WIN: What is a dove in Israel?

MP: Generally, one who thinks that in the existing generation there is a good chance to establish peace with the Arab world, and that Israel should offer the evacuation of the territories occupied in the Six-Day War for peace. There are important strategic, economic, demographic and cultural reasons for these territories to be included within the sovereignty of Israel. But we think the best utilization of them is as a deposit, a barter in exchange for peace.

WIN: Should a Palestinian state be established on those territories?

MP: Either there, or maybe in the Sinai or the Golan Heights or in South Lebanon. The question is, is Israel ready to concede these territories—to establish a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza?—to negotiate with the Arab authorities, whether Jordanian, Palestinian or Egyptian?

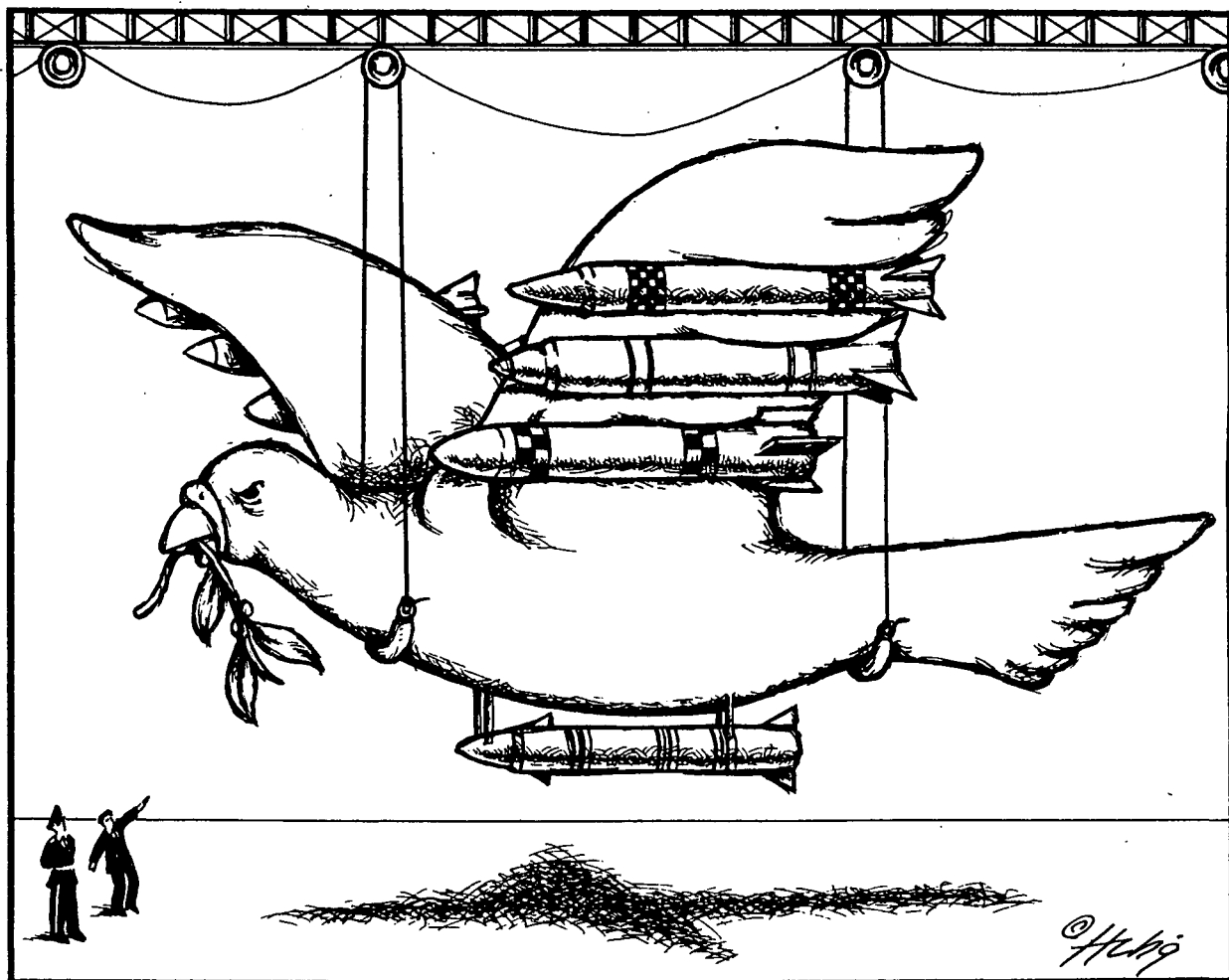
The establishment of an independent Palestinian state is a *mitzvah*. Palestinian national representatives would need to be willing to negotiate, and show their competence in establishing a state in collaboration with Israel—and maybe Jordan and Egypt. Yet even if the doves were in power and the Palestinian representatives like the PLO were not mature enough to join the project, then Israel should take the initiative. Israel must be ready to negotiate with every representative of Palestinian and Arab interests—King Hussein, whoever. Because the task of Israeli doves is not to establish an independent Palestinian state, but to establish peace.

The Palestinian national cause could be fulfilled, some think, by an independent state side by side with both Israel and Jordan, which would tone down the challenge and expectations. The Palestinian representatives might not be sophisticated enough to negotiate and concede. But either way, the West Bank and Gaza are mostly Palestinian, and whatever political solution is established, they will be involved. If they weren't smart enough to participate, they would lose politically.

WIN: But Arafat has repeatedly said that he'd take a state in the West Bank and Gaza. And he's not stupid.

MP: Yes he is, he's as stupid as Begin. You can quote me: He is as unsophisticated and cowardly and short-sighted as an Israeli revisionist. He has been hinting that the PLO, if pushed by Israeli gestures, Soviet enforcements, Arab impositions, or American manipulation, would enjoin the Lebanese and all other Palestinians to join the process of bargaining. But if Arafat had made it clear that he recognizes the state of Israel and wants to renegotiate to establish an independent West Bank/Gaza state, he could do it. He is a genius at public relations. But he is a coward. He ignores a leader like Chaim Weizmann, the kind of Zionist who was a nationalist, but a moderate, and not blind to the necessities of the adversary national movements.

The Israeli government are cowards too. Not only the Begin government, but the previous Yitzhak Rabin government, Golda Meir's government. Golda Meir was just a typical pragmatist leader without any vision. She didn't understand that from



1967 on Zionism's challenge was to establish a state of Israel within the political tissues in the Middle East. Our victory in the Six-Day War gave us our first chance to offer something to the Arabs—not the annexation of those territories, but bartering them for peace. Why, now, should we wait for Arafat? Why should we wait for George Habash, or the Americans or Soviets or Syrians or another Sadat? We are the strongest state in the Middle East militarily (though not economically or culturally). We are in a position to offer something, out manipulate our enemies towards a peace rapprochement. But we shouldn't wait for Arafat or President Reagan or anyone else to do the job for us.

WIN: Why doesn't the government make this kind of concession?

MP: Even if Begin and his government were elected by democratic procedure, it was not in a vacuum. The existing Labor opposition is not that much different from Begin. Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin—

The Israeli government's cowardice extends back to Golda Meir. A typical pragmatist leader without any vision, she didn't understand that our victory in the Six-Day War gave us our first chance to offer something to the Arabs . . . for peace.

they paved the way for Begin, and he was the inevitable result of their term. Anyway, Begin and his people are addicted to the idea of Greater Israel. They are idol-worshippers. Judaism *per se* is not that territorial, tied to mountains, trees, rocks—it is more spiritual. When "heavenly Jerusalem" is referred to in the Bible, it didn't mean the material, land-existing Jerusalem, but a much more moral, spiritual and cultural philosophy. But Menachem Begin is addicted to the material idea. He is much more influenced by the "First Prophets"—Joshua, Judges. . . That influence of the ancient Israeli heroes is a strong part of Begin's makeup. The other aspect is the fear and sense of persecution of the Diaspora Jew. The existing government is schizophrenic. It is very proud of our military power, very proud that we are now like the Gentiles, with our Army, force, and ability to "teach anyone a lesson." We could conquer—"liberate"—Damascus, Amman, the Sudan. . . Ariel Sharon once boasted that the Israeli Defense Forces could even reach Tunisia.

This interview appeared in the March 1 issue of WIN Magazine.

But let's assume that we reached Tunisia. How would we get out of it? We have the strongest military system in the Middle East, why can't we even offer the Arabs the West Bank, Gaza, or the Golan Heights for peace.

But the government says, "What? Would you like to turn Israel into a new ghetto, to turn the state of Israel into the ghetto of Warsaw or Marrakesh in Morocco? You would risk our existence and make Israel into some kind of an Auschwitz so that we will be exterminated?"—All in the space of five minutes. On the one hand they want to feel like Samsons, on the other they want to be the miserable Diaspora Jews of Eastern Europe. It's very interesting. Israel's challenge is to establish a synthesis between the two extremes.

WIN: How do you do this?

MP: It's a problem. A lot of Jews, especially Diaspora Jews, think that Judaism is eternal, not material, and that an independent state contradicts our destiny to live as a people in Diaspora. This impeded the formation of our own independent state. Philosophically, Judaism is in a sense passionately fighting against Zionism. And it's time for Zionists in Israel to understand this. Our friends throughout the world, Jews and non-Jews, should express their friendship not by supporting the existing system, but by pressuring and persuading Israel to change. You can't use Ariel Sharon's system of brute force. You have to try to outmaneuver, push, persuade. Begin was pressured by Sadat and Carter to evacuate the whole Sinai for peace, though he was strongly against it. Well, he could be pressured to begin the first concession in the West Bank. A formula for "autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza could begin the process of Israeli evacuation and Palestinian self-determination, either as an independent state, or as an autonomous republic maintaining federal or confederative relations with Jordan.

Begin may be a radical hawk, a chauvinist, but he could be outmaneuvered to start this move by an international initiative.

WIN: Is there any hope of that initiative coming from within Israel? Your party, Sheli, for instance?

MP: Yes, Sheli. It's a small minority, but the potential for peace in Israel lies within the Peace Now movement. The challenge is to organize the people around this ideology into a political group, party, movement. Interestingly, the Labor Party and Mapam have undermined us however they could. Peres, Rabin, many liberals understand that if this kind of transformation would take place, the existing leaders of the Labor Alignment would be eliminated. They just wouldn't get re-elected. They would have to go and write books. So Israeli doves have two enemies—the hawkish, existing regime, and the Labor Alignment. And the two are not entirely opposed; if Reagan's pressure becomes a little harsher, I wouldn't be surprised if Yitzhak Rabin replaced Ariel Sharon as the Minister of Defense.

WIN: What kind of effect do you think Lebanon has had on all this? You get the sense, from US media coverage, that the peace movement is just burgeoning.

MP: The 10,000 Palestinians and Lebanese and 400

Israelis killed, combined with the massacre of Shatila and Sabra, shocked even those traditional labor and liberal Zionists. But the protests have not yet been translated into a real, positive, political movement. Because of the stupidity of the Israeli government and the change of worldwide public opinion towards Israel, Reagan was able to propose a new program concerning the West Bank and Gaza—a positive step. Interestingly, the Labor Alignment succeeded in manipulating Peace Now feelings, using their anti-Begin politic for their own gain. Peres claimed that Reagan's statement echoed the Alignment program but, in fact, Reagan went much further. Reagan talked about Jerusalem, and the importance of recognizing the Arab and Christian parts of Jerusalem. The September 1982 Peace Now demonstration approximately measured public discomfort with Begin's behavior in Lebanon. But it was not yet a real demonstration of a changing attitude.

Begin and his people are idol-worshippers, materialists. But the "heavenly Jerusalem" of the Bible was not territorial, it was spiritual.

WIN: Does the Labor establishment perceive Peace Now as a threat to Israel's security?

MP: That is the pretext, yes. But primarily they're afraid of public opinion, and don't want to be accused of "softness" vis-a-vis the West Bank by Begin. Israel has a problem with schizophrenia. If Begin is one half of the schizophrenia, then Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin are the second half. And then there are the 10% like myself, who are presenting a vision of liberation from this schizophrenia. If we don't succeed in establishing a synthesis between these two extremes, Zionism is in great danger. Eventually there will be more emigrants from Israel than people making aliyah [immigrating] and if this continues for a generation or two or three, this would be the end. This is why I think Begin is the most anti-Zionist leader we have ever had.

WIN: Is the PLO idea of an eventual, secular, democratic state incompatible with Zionism?

MP: Yes. [softly] It's nonsense. It's propaganda and they know it. What is meant by a "secular democratic Palestine in which everyone will have equal rights?" In theory, we already have this! We have a secular, democratic Israel. There is a real conflict between the Arab and Jewish (or Zionist) national liberation movements which have fought each other for almost 100 years. A solution would have to respect the national expectations—and contradictions—of both movements. But the PLO idea of a "secular democratic 'Filastin'" —why doesn't Mr. Arafat tell his people to ask for Israeli citizenship, establish a National Palestinian Party within Israel? No, it's an interesting concept, but it won't work.

In the 1940s, when I was young I thought a bi-national solution would work. But the best solution now, I think, is partition. Hopefully, in the long run, out of the mutual trade, transportation, technology, diplomatic and cultural relations, a confederation might develop.

WIN: So you don't think an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza would sit side by side with Israel like an armed camp?

MP: No. The Palestinians are too weak. Besides, the more they were responsible for a state entity, the more they would be afraid to lose it. When Philip Habib succeeded in squeezing a cease-fire out of the Israelis and the PLO in June 1981, Israeli motives were clear. No Israeli regime wanted the Galilee bombarded every Monday and Thursday. But what were the PLO's motives? In establishing a semi-autonomous region in southern Lebanon, they were busy building hospitals, schools, economic workshops. And the more involved they were in construction and rebuilding, the more they developed a moderate style.

WIN: They had a lot to lose by being at war.

MP: Yes. And they were risking what they had gradually built. For the first time, the Palestinian national movement adopted the methods of practical Zionism. Call it "constructive Palestinianism." The more you are engaged in building economic, demographic, social and cultural facilities, the more you behave as a cool-headed, moderate, respectable leadership. If we were smart, we would enable them to establish their independent entity. They would only fight those who wanted to undermine it. A respectful leadership would emerge from their fear of our military strength.

WIN: Do you have the sense the Americans perceive Israel as a kind of monolith? That everyone in Israel is a hawk?

MP: There are a lot of Jewish-American liberals and progressives who know this is not so. But they need to get organized and pressure the American administration. If six million people—American Jewry—have an interest in supporting the destiny of Israel, they could give money to the peace movement and use politics and diplomacy to pressure their government. They may claim that "you shouldn't criticize the existing Israeli regime," but it's a *mitzvah* to do this. Perhaps the world's Jews should think of starting a new, progressive Zionist organization.

Golda Meir and the Labor Party destroyed pluralism and debate within the old Zionist frameworks, they destroyed the very process of dissent and inquiry by claiming that all Diaspora Jewry should limit itself to supporting Israel by giving money and not questioning the political regime. This was very similar to Joseph Stalin's tendency towards communist parties all over the world. Stalin subjugated the overall interest in socialism to the power interests of the Soviet Union. And the Israeli regime's tendency has been similar. So it's quite time to have some good, progressive criticism.

WIN: Jewish friends have told me of their fears that underlying Gentile criticism of Israel is sometimes anti-Semitism.

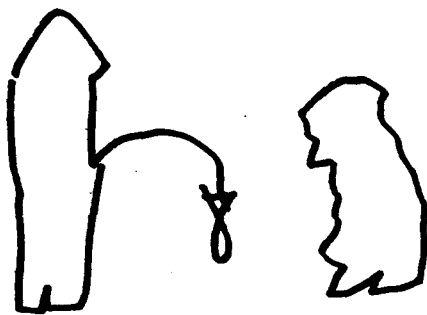
MP: You know, I was born in Israel, and I didn't feel anti-Semitism at all. The only time I happened to confront anti-Semitism was as a guest of a radio program

in St. Paul, Minnesota. . . I responded. . . now I see my forefathers were right by leaving Diaspora and joining the project of Zionism. . . I don't think a non-Jew should be deprived of his intellectual preference or right to criticize Israel to the same extent as he might criticize South Africa, Chile, or Argentina. I don't like my state to be compared to South Africa or Chile. And I agree that considering Israelis as one bloc can be anti-Semitic. But progressive Americans generally understand that human communities are not just blocs of "stupid" following their leaders. Also, the criticism of the existing regime is generally valid.

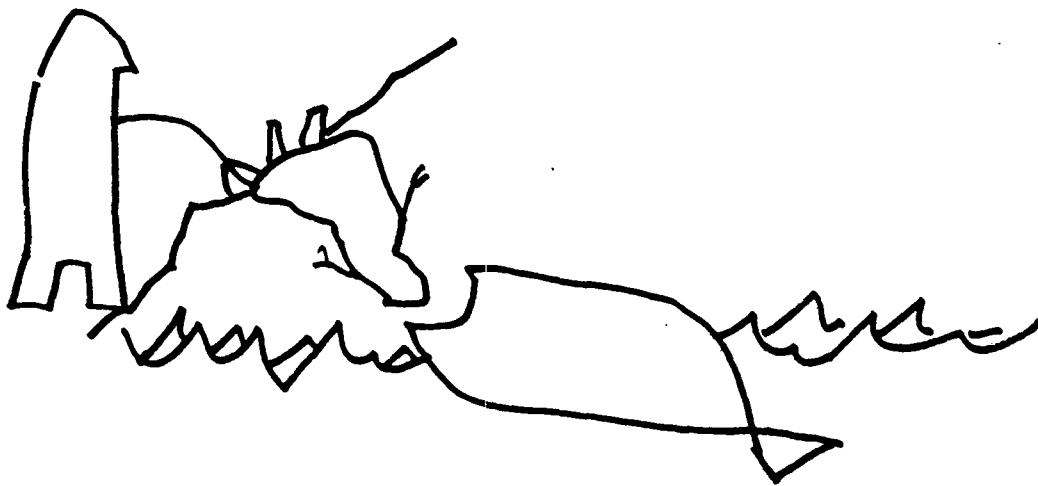
If anti-Semitism is a pervasive, deep disease as some Diaspora Jews claim, then Israel should do whatever it can to behave in a more humanistic, progressive, internationalistic and moderate way towards its neighbors and adversaries. It should not respond to anti-Semitism with cries, shouts and accusations, but by working to accomplish the prophecy of Isaiah. The tragedy of Israel is its schizophrenia. The image is currently one of a forceful Goliath, but I would prefer Israel's image to be a strong, wise Samson. The history of the Jewish Diaspora is old and strong and very wise. If we are strong enough, we can free ourselves from our current inferiority complex, from the weaknesses and mistakes of the past. This—establishing the synthesis—is Israel's task. □



THE WIT AND WISDOM OF RONALD REAGAN



"FEED A MAN A FISH: FEED HIM ONCE"



"FEED A MAN TO A FISH: RID OF HIM FOREVER"

No. 5 : FORESIGHT

-TULI

'GANDHI:' LESS THAN DANDY

George Woodcock

LIKE ANYONE WHOSE life and ideas were affected profoundly by the example of Mohandas Gandhi, I watched the film that bears his name with very mixed feelings, both with regard to its form and to the way it has distorted, in the interests of the present Indian political establishment, the last and in some ways the most crucial period of Gandhi's life.

Let me begin with the film itself. Considered as a cinematic drama, it is deeply marred by its inner conflict between intimacy and grandiosity.

However prominent the role that history and his own political clear-sightedness may have given him, Gandhi remained throughout his life an astonishingly private and independent person, obeying his inner imperatives rather than those of party or movement, and living with a quirkiness and an eccentricity that no leader dependent on the support of an organized political party would have dared to adopt. Gandhi did not have to wait for the liberation of India to become a free man, governed only by his personal morality. It is the strength of that morality, combined with an extraordinary sense of political strategy and timing, that explains his long ascendancy over the movement for Indian independence.

The intimate Gandhi, the eccentric and warm-hearted man of principle, is admirably portrayed by Ben Kingsley, whose absorption of the personality of his character is an exceptional triumph of acting. The process by which Gandhi, the tongue-tied and rather naive young lawyer, found within himself, through struggle and suffering, the stubborn fighter he eventually became, is paralleled by the way in which, as the film goes on, one sees Kingsley becoming absorbed into the personality he represents.

It is not a matter of physical likeness, for Kingsley's facial resemblance to Gandhi is not in fact very close; in the earlier passages of the film his long face and kind eyes remind one as much of that other just man, Orwell, as of Gandhi, and at no times does even the best makeup give him the appealing chapfallen ugliness of Gandhi's old age.

But all this is forgotten as the film continues, since Kingsley so lives himself into his character's personality that one knows in the end that this is how Gandhi walked and sat, how he talked, how he even thought; Gandhi's wry humour, his quiet laughter, his naive vanities, his sidetracked sexuality, they are all there, and so is the honesty towards himself and the straightforwardness to others that made Orwell remark of him, just after Gandhi was assassinated in 1948, "compared with the other leading political figures of our time, how clean a smell he has managed to leave behind."

It is a superb and memorable piece of acting, but the very intimacy with which Kingsley has explored and assumed Gandhi's nature contrasts with the lack of intimacy with which the film as a whole represents the India that Gandhi set out to liberate. The conventions of the wide-screen

epic, to which the director Richard Attenborough has remained faithful, have prevented this.

Except for scenes between individuals, we are always looking at life from a distance, seeing India from the windows of fast-moving trains, watching from some distant and elevated point mass events populated by hundreds of striding or struggling extras. The sense of being in the close heart of Indian life that one gets from the films of the great Bengali directors like Satyagit Ray or Mrinal Sen is absent.

In the process of epic aggrandisement, everything is oversimplified, whether it is Gandhi's painful relations with his own wife and family, or the complex human interaction between the British and the Indians, which is shown by Attenborough in grotesquely black-and-white terms, so that the former are always stage villains, whatever their personal qualities, and the latter always stage heroes, totally lacking in the vices of power-hunger and corruption that became evident as soon as they assumed power with the departure of the British in 1947.

Attenborough has not grasped the elementary truth of political psychology: that however good a human being one may be, power will make one act evilly. Gandhi's great wisdom led him to evade, even at the time of India's liberation, the temptation to assume power.

These flaws in Gandhi, and the more shocking distortions to which I shall shortly come, are largely the result of the political auspices under which it was made. The film could not have been completed without the wholehearted consent and co-operation of the Indian government and Indira Gandhi, who moreover contributed a great deal of the \$20,000,000 that the film cost to make.

For that kind of co-operation and financial subsidy the Indian government asked its price, which was a film that would not only glorify India as a nation, but would also suggest that the centralized militarist state it has become since 1947 is really the India that Gandhi fought for by entirely non-militarist means.

The masses of India are still among the poorest people in the world, not much less poor than they were when Gandhi identified his lot with theirs, and anyone who has known the country for a long time and has understood its problems is saddened in the 1980s to see that the great sea of poverty has grown broader and deeper, while the raft of newly rich exploiters that floats on its surface grows ever larger and more prosperous.

It is this situation that makes all the more despicable the irresponsibility with which the Indian government has recently paid enormous sums of money for symbolic events by which the mass of the people are only marginally benefitted, if at all.

No less than 500 crores of rupees (a crore being 10,000,000), which is the equivalent of \$500,000,000 Canadian, was wasted on the Asian Games last November, at a time

when hundreds of millions of Indians still do not enjoy the simple benefit of clean water, let alone adequate food. Beside this extravagance, the \$10,000,000 or so which Attenborough received from Mrs. Gandhi (and which was used largely to recycle superannuated British actors like John Gielgud, Trevor Howard and John Mills for stilted minor roles), may seem small enough, but it is still money taken from people who need it, to glorify people who do not.

Clearly it was implied, even if it was not specified, that Gandhi should in no way offer a criticism of the state that Mrs. Indira Gandhi now rules. And so, at the end of the film, while we are indeed shown Gandhi courageously intervening to halt the mutual killings of Hindus and Moslems in Calcutta, we are given no inkling of the doubts he experienced and expressed after India became independent in 1947.

Nothing is said about his warnings that the Congress Party was being corrupted by the power it gained with self-government. Nothing is said about his recommendation that the Congress Party should be disbanded, its aim of India's liberation having been achieved, and be replaced by a Lok Sewak Sangh (Organization for the Service of the People), which would eschew political power and devote itself to moral and social reform and to creating the kind of agrarian commonwealth Gandhi had long advocated - a decentralized society based on the revivifying of the villages. Nothing is said about his warning that the "militarization of India would mean self-destruction." Nothing is said about his argument that "self-government means continuous effort to be free of governmental control, whether it is foreign or whether it is national" or of his assertion that "the ideally non-violent state will be an ordered anarchy."

Gandhi, in fact, wanted to create a libertarian and agrarian order, without an army and without a sense of national arrogance. He often called himself an anarchist, and in his vision of a village-based order, with a decentralized administration rather than government, he came very close to the ideals of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, both of whom he admired.

But all this was far from the intentions of men like Nehru and Patel, into whose hands fell the shaping of the new Indian state after the British went. They were intent on creating a nation-state like those established in nineteenth-century Europe, and in order to do this they not only retained the army the British had created (even with its old regimental formations) but also the British form of administration, so that when in the 1970s Mrs. Gandhi declared an emergency, she actually imprisoned her opponents under rules laid down by the British viceroys to deal with Gandhi and his campaigns of mass non-cooperation with the Raj.

Perhaps the final horrifying irony in Gandhi's career was that after his assassination, his murderer was hanged according to British laws he detest-

ed, and he himself was buried with military honours bestowed by an army against which he had fought with all the weapons of non-violent revolution. The circumstance that the army was now Indian and not British made no substantial difference; it still represented the militarism he had long condemned.

The fact that this very funeral should be one of the first great crowd scenes in Gandhi, a scene presented without an iota of critical implication, sets the tone for the theme of national glorification which throughout runs parallel to the development of Gandhi's life as a non-violent agitator and strategist. None of Gandhi's statements that suggested his dismay at the direction in which Nehru led India after 1947 is included, and this shows how far Attenborough has been willing to edit the truth in order to make a film acceptable to Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

The fact is, of course, that it is not Mrs. Gandhi and her Congress Party who in recent decades have represented the tradition of her great namesake. That has been sustained outside the circles of power, by individual teachers and activists like Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan, and by movements like Sava Seva, whose volunteers work outside the framework of government organization for the regeneration of village life.

Yet despite the distortions I have indicated, the crucial message of Gandhi's life was too strong and clear not in the end to dominate the film,

Gandhi. All power is vulnerable, and can in the long run be defeated by determined resistance. When governments and laws are manifestly unjust, direct action against them is necessary. But, since violence tends to be self-defeating and to lead to authoritarian structures, the best kind of direct action is non-violent resistance by civil disobedience and by non-cooperation. Such resistance, unlike violence, provides also the philosophic foundation for a society in which excesses of power can be eliminated.

Finally, demonstrated triumphantly in this film as in Gandhi's life, there is the lesson—a very anarchistic one—that nobody need quail before the power of the state, since individuals, in cooperations with others and even on their own, can deploy a moral power that changes the general mental climate and—ultimately—the political and social shape of the world.

Thus the film really carries two mutually contradictory messages. The first is that the nation is glorious. The second is that the individual will can in the end defeat all kinds of collective tyranny. At the present juncture of Indian politics, when Mrs. Gandhi's power seems to be disintegrating, the second message is probably that which Indian audiences will take to heart.

There is no doubt that Gandhi, carefully studying the psychology of his opponents, did more than any other individual to bring an end to British power in India, partly by making the system of Raj virtually unworkable by organizing mass refusal to cooperate, but also by making his opponents feel that their position was morally untenable. Thus he demonstrated the effectiveness, in a specific set of circumstances, of direct action carried out without violence.

It has often been said, as a challenge to the arguments of Gandhi's admirers, that the strategy he used may have worked against the British, but could not have worked against more ruthless oppressors like the Nazis or the Bolsheviks. But I don't think one can reasonably relate one set of circumstances to a completely different situation. Clearly every political situation will breed its own pattern of resistance, as the American civil rights movement differed from the Indian liberation movement.

It is entirely conceivable that if social democrats, the communists and the trade unionists in Germany had abandoned their feuds and taken the initiative with a well-organized non-cooperation campaign as soon as Nazism appeared they would have been able to put up an effective resistance. The fact is that, unlike Gandhi, they were obsessed with the hope of power, and set party interests above general interests, and did not have the courage to act until it was too late and their house was tumbling about their heads.

Gandhi acknowledged that in certain societies—including that of the Nazis—non-cooperation would entail a great deal more suffering than it had done under the British Raj, but he never saw the difficulty of the task as reason for not undertaking it. It was this unquestioning faith in the aims he set out to achieve and in his method of *Satyagraha* or non-violent resistance, as well as his lack of fear and of any desire for personal power, that gave Gandhi his extraordinary hold over the imaginations of the Indian people. And this, despite its faults and distortions, Gandhi well illustrates.

—OPEN ROAD, Vancouver

BRITISH WOMEN WAGE PEACE

Anne Chase

Nearly two thirds of the people of Great Britain are opposed to the decision made by President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to install 96 Cruise missiles in Britain later this year. This opposition to nuclear weapons has been organized almost overnight by a small group of women determined that their children will not die in a nuclear holocaust.

For the past year, the women have been camping out at the entrances of the proposed Cruise missile sites all over Britain, trying to force the British Broadcasting Corporation to televise a debate on the issue of nuclear weapons. Although their initial demand has never been met, they have become a catalyst for anti-Cruise sentiment. Now, they are determined to stop the missiles from coming to Britain, and are calling for Britain to rid itself of its small nuclear arsenal.

On February 20, Simone Wilkinson and Susan Lamb, two women from the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, came to the Washington Peace Center to talk about their fight against the Cruise missiles and how they themselves became involved.

The Peace Camp movement does not have an elaborate hierarchy of leaders who debate their positions, Wilkinson and Lamb said. Instead, it is made up of ordinary women, most of whom have never been involved in politics before.

"Whenever people talk about the people at Greenham Common, they say we're incredible," said Wilkinson. "What I want to say is, it takes a very ordinary person who is determined to change what's going on in the world."

Wilkinson said she first became aware of the threat of nuclear war when she was pregnant with her second child. She met a Japanese woman at a reception whose uncle had been killed at Hiroshima. The woman told Wilkinson that even today when a woman of Hiroshima becomes pregnant, her friends don't congratulate her. "They just wait silently for nine months because so many children are born deformed," she said.

Wilkinson said she began reading about nuclear war, and "fell into total despair. I would sit around weeping, and look at my kids and think, 'They're not going to grow up. They're going to die.'"

Lamb said her awakening came when she took her three-year-old daughter to the London Zoo, which is in the flight path for Heathrow Airport. Her daughter became hysterical every time a plane flew over and began crying that the planes were going to bomb them.

"At first I said, 'Don't be so daft. They're taking people to other countries on holiday.' But by the end of the day, I was almost as upset as she was. I decided that's the way it would happen. I'd be at home doing the dishes, my children would be at school, and my husband at work," Lamb said.

"When we're pregnant, we're told to eat the correct foods. We're told to stop smoking, and stay away from industrial hazards. And once the children are born, we're responsible for their lives. I decided that if I

didn't speak out against nuclear weapons, I was condemning them to death," she continued.

The British government has prepared a civil defense booklet similar to plans produced by the US Federal Emergency Management Administration, Lamb said.

The pamphlet tells homeowners to take the interior doors off the hinges and use them to construct makeshift shelters in their living rooms, Lamb said. This shelter is to be stocked with emergency supplies of food in case of a nuclear attack. Ironically, the government is constructing fallout shelters, but these are to protect government bureaucrats, not the citizens.

In the event of a nuclear attack, the bureaucrats would have the power of life and death over the people of the area.

"The very thing we're told we're protecting would be the first thing out the window," Lamb said.

When the women took their first steps toward protesting the Cruise missiles, they were amazed by the positive reaction of the people they encountered.

Lamb first became involved by joining a week-long sit-in in the public square of Cardiff, the capital of Wales, to publicize the existence of the peace camp.

"I went down to Port Square with an absolute fear. I wanted to be arrested as quickly as possible before any of my neighbors saw me. I'd never done anything like that before," she said. But by 11:00 on the first morning, Lamb knew that the majority of the people she encountered felt the same way she did.

"Old-age pensioners would come up and take a tin of soup out of their bags and bless me for doing something," she said.

When Wilkinson and Lamb first joined the Greenham Common Peace Camp a year ago, the residents numbered about twenty. The movement has grown steadily since then. On November 25, twenty-four women seized the base itself by crowding into a sentry booth at the entrance. They were sentenced to two weeks in prison for committing an act likely to cause a breach of the peace.

The women's arrest sparked the first debate in Parliament over the Cruise missiles. Lamb and Wilkinson pointed out that Parliament has never voted on the Cruise missiles. The decision to install them in Britain was made by an inner cabinet of four ministers.

On December 12, the Peace Camp brought 30,000 women from all over Britain to Greenham. The women stood hand in hand all around the nine-mile perimeter of the base and decorated the fence with articles that had some personal significance--baby clothes, pictures of children, and flowers. The women lit candles. Wilkinson said she was reminded of Yad Vashem, the monument to the victims of the Holocaust in Israel.

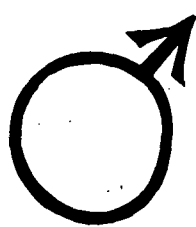
"Now no one in Britain can say they didn't know the government was constructing a death camp at Greenham Common," she said.

The involvement of Britain's women in the Peace Camps has overturned the traditional relationship between men and women.

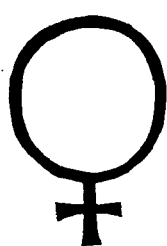
"In the past the men went off to war. Today the women are going off to make peace and the men are staying behind," Wilkinson said.

—WASHINGTON PEACE CENTER NEWSLETTER

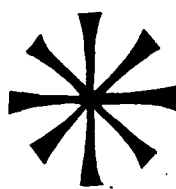
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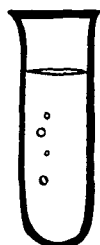
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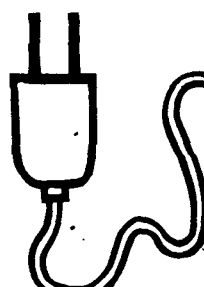
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Location of Conflict	Date Conflict Began	Warring Parties	Number of troops (estimated)	Foreign Support	Type of Foreign Support	Trend in Fighting 1980-82	Number killed (estimated)
MIDDLE EAST/PERSIAN GULF							
Afghanistan	1978	Afghan government & Soviet forces vs. Islamic & anti-communist guerrillas	25-35,000 105,000 90-100,000	USSR China, Pakistan, US, Saudi Arabia, Egypt	Arms, 105,000 troops Arms	Increasing	100,000+
Iran	1978	Iranian government vs. separatist and anti-government guerrillas	235,000 active; 35,000 para-military* 20-100,000+		Arms	Increasing	4-26,000
Iraq	1979	Iraqi government vs. separatist and Shiite Muslim guerrillas	342,000 active; 12,000 para-military* 5,000	Iraq, Syria	Arms	Increasing	NK
Iraq and Iran	1980	Iraqi government vs. Iranian government	342,000 active; 12,000 para-military* 235,000 active; 35,000 para-military* North Korea	Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, Syria, Israel, Libya, North Korea	Arms, money Arms	Increasing	80-100,000
Israel and Lebanon	1948	Israeli government vs. Palestinian guerrillas	174,000 active; 4,500 para-military*	US	Arms	Increasing	10,000+
Lebanon	1975	Christian Lebanese vs. Muslim Lebanese	100,000 (all factions)	Syria, Arab States, Israel	Arms, 30,000 Syrian troops Arms	Increasing	80,000+
North Yemen and South Yemen	1960's	North Yemen government vs. South Yemen government	32,050 active; 20,000 para-military* 26,000 active; 15,000 para-military*	Saudi Arabia, US, USSR, East Europe	Arms Arms, advisors	Steady	1,000+
Pakistan	1972	Pakistani government vs. separatist and anti-government guerrillas	478,000 active; 109,000 para-military* 5,000+	US, France, China	Arms	Increasing	9,000+
Syria	1976	Syrian government vs. Sunni Muslim guerrillas	225,500 active; 9,800 para-military* 4,000	USSR	Arms, advisors	Increasing	5,000+
Turkey	1974	Turkish government vs. left-wing, right-wing and separatist guerrillas	569,000 active; 120,000 para-military* hundreds	Jordan, US, W. Europe	Arms Arms	Decreasing	6,000+
ASIA							
Burma	1948	Burmese government vs. communist & separatist guerrillas	179,000 active; 73,000 para-military* 30-50,000	W. Europe, US, China	Arms Arms	Steady	Thousands
China & Vietnam	1979	Chinese government vs. Vietnamese government	200-300,000 150-200,000	USSR	Arms, advisors	Steady	47,000+
East Timor (Indonesia)	1975	Indonesian government vs. Fretilin guerrillas	269,000 active; 82,000 para-military* 300-6,500	US, W. Europe	Arms	Increasing	100-250,000
India	1947	Indian government vs. separatist guerrillas	1,104,000 active; 260,000 para-military* 5,000+	USSR, France, UK	Arms	Increasing	Thousands
Kampuchea	1970	Samarin government & Vietnamese forces vs. anti-government guerrillas	20,000 180,000 30-63,000	Vietnam, USSR, China, Thailand	180,000 troops Arms, advisors Arms, sanctuary	Increasing	1972-1978: 1-4 million 1979-1982: 3,000+
Laos	1975	Laotian government & Vietnamese forces vs. anti-government guerrillas	48,700* 40-60,000* 8,000	Vietnam, USSR, China, Khmer Rouge	40-60,000 troops Arms, advisors Arms	Increasing	10-50,000
Malaysia	1945	Malaysian government vs. communist guerrillas	99,100 active; 90,000 para-military* 2,000+	US, W. Europe, China	Arms Arms	Steady	NK (less than 100/year)
North Korea and South Korea	1950	North Korean government vs. South Korean government	784,000 active; 798,000 para-military 601,600 active; 9,520,000 para-military	China, USSR, US	Arms, advisors 39,000 troops, arms	Steady	1950-1953: 1,900,000 1954-1962: 1,100+
Philippines	1972	Philippine government vs. communist & Muslim guerrillas	112,800 active; 110,500 para-military 4-10,000 & 8-20,000	US	Arms	Increasing	50-100,000
Thailand	1965	Thai government vs. communist & separatist guerrillas, drug warlords	233,100 active; 53,000 para-military* 6-14,000	US, China	Arms Arms	Steady	NK (hundreds each year)

*Not all troops are engaged in combat.
NK: Not Known
Chart prepared by the Center for Defense Information.

Location of Conflict	Date Conflict Began	Warring Parties	Number of troops (estimated)	Foreign Support	Type of Foreign Support	Trend in Fighting 1980-82	Number killed (estimated)
AFRICA							
Angola	1975	Angolan government vs. anti-communist guerrillas	37,500 active; 169,000 para-military* 15,000+	USSR, Cuba, East Germany	Arms, 20,000 Cuban troops, 1000 Soviet advisors, 2,500 East German advisors	Increasing	Thousands
Chad	1965	Chad government (Habre) vs. various anti-government armies	4-8,000 5,000+	South Africa, France, Sudan, Libya	Arms, troops Arms, troops	Increasing	20,000+
Ethiopia (Eritrea)	1962	Ethiopian government vs. separatist Eritrean guerrillas	250,500 active; 169,000 para-military* 45,000	USSR, Cuba	Arms, 1400 Soviet advisors, 13,000 Cuban troops	Steady	80,000+
Ethiopia & Somalia (Ogaden)	1962	Ethiopian government & anti-Somali guerrillas vs. Somali government & separatist Ogaden guerrillas	250,500 active; 169,000 para-military* several hundred 62,550 active; 29,500 para-military* & 10,000	USSR, Cuba, US, Italy, China	Arms, 1400 Soviet advisors, 13,000 Cuban troops Arms	Increasing	25,000+
Mozambique	1978	Mozambique government vs. right-wing guerrillas	21,600 active; 6,000 para-military*	USSR, Cuba	Arms and advisors	Increasing	1,000+
Namibia	1966	South African government vs. Namibian (SWAPO) guerrillas	3-5,000 28-33,000 3-5,000	South Africa, Angola	Arms Arms, sanctuary	Increasing	8,000
South Africa	1970's	South African government vs. Black nationalist guerrillas	81,400 active; 145,500 para-military* 3-4,000	Mozambique, Angola, Black African nations	Arms, sanctuary	Increasing	NK (low)
Uganda	1981	Ugandan government vs. revolutionary guerrillas	5,000 active; 6,000 para-military* 1,000	Tanzania, Libya?	Troops Arms	Increasing	Hundreds
Western Sahara	1975	Moroccan government vs. Polisario guerrillas	40-60,000 15,000	US, France, Algeria, Libya, Mauritania	Arms Arms, sanctuary	Increasing	7-10,000
Zimbabwe	1980	Zimbabwe government vs. anti-government guerrillas	63,000 active; 11,500 para-military* 2,000+	UK, North Korea	Arms, North Korean advisors	Increasing	1,000+
LATIN AMERICA							
Argentina	1976	Argentine government vs. left- and right-wing guerrillas	180,500 active; 43,000 para-military* several hundred	W. Europe, Israel, US	Arms	Decreasing	1976-1978: 5-7,000 1980-1982: NK (low)
Colombia	1978	Colombian government vs. left- and right-wing guerrillas	67,800 active; 50,000 para-military* 4-6,000	US, France, Israel, West Germany	Arms	Increasing	Hundreds
El Salvador	1977	El Salvador government & right-wing groups vs. left-wing guerrillas	16,000 active; 9,000 para-military	US, Israel, France	Arms and US advisors	Increasing	30,000+
Guatemala	1967	Guatemalan government & right-wing groups vs. left-wing guerrillas & Mayan Indians	10,000 19,000 active; 11,600 para-military*	Nicaragua, Cuba? US, France	Arms Arms	Increasing	1987-1974: 30-40,000 1979-1982: 12-22,000+
Honduras	1970's	Honduran government vs. left-wing guerrillas	11,700 active; 3,000 para-military* several hundred	US, UK	Arms	Increasing	NK (low)
Nicaragua	1981	Nicaraguan government vs. right-wing guerrillas & Misquito Indians	21,500 active; 5,000 para-military* 10,000 & 2,000	Nicaragua, Cuba? France, Cuba, US, Honduras, Costa Rica	Arms Arms, sanctuary	Increasing	Hundreds
Peru	1980	Peruvian government vs. left-wing guerrillas	135,500 active; 25,000 para-military* 500-1,000	USSR, France, US, Italy	Arms	Increasing	100+
EUROPE Italy	1970	Italian government vs. left- and right-wing guerrillas	370,000 active; 205,000 para-military* several hundred	Libya?	Arms	Increasing	NK (low)
Northern Ireland	1969	British government & Protestant Irish para-military groups vs. Irish Catholic nationalist guerrillas	11,500 British troops & 15,000 Protestants 400-500			Increasing	2,300
Spain	1960's	Spanish government vs. Basque separatist guerrillas	347,000 active; 105,000 para-military* several hundred	Libya?	Arms	Decreasing	NK (less than 100/year)

From Defense Monitor. For more information on each of these conflicts, send \$1 to the Center for Defense Information and ask for the issue of the Monitor on 'A World at War.' Address: 303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Ave SW DC 20024.

Chicago

I had a hunch that Harold Washington would win. My theory was that he had bottomed too soon in his campaign that was seemingly directed towards proving that a black candidate in a major city with a large black population could actually lose.

Of course, the press and what calls itself the black leadership chose to see saw it differently, choosing to ignore the accumulated evidence from Atlanta, Los Angeles, New Orleans and smaller cities. Further, they choose to ignore the fact that if just eight percent more of the electorate had voted for Washington, he would have won by about 60% and everyone would be writing about Chicago's progressive new era. Harold Washington, his past and his campaign, was worth at least eight percentage points against him.

Somehow, however, the Chicago election got elevated to the rank of Selma and the March on Washington. Wilson Goode, the most establishment political figure since Cyrus Vance, must have loved every moment of it. It kept the press out of Philadelphia, at least, and Jesse Jackson limited to one visit.

In fact, the Chicago race overflowed with tawdry drama, but was somewhat short of being a grand step towards human justice, although the fact that Washington was perhaps the least qualified black ever to take over a major American city was, I suppose, a civil rights achievement of a sort.

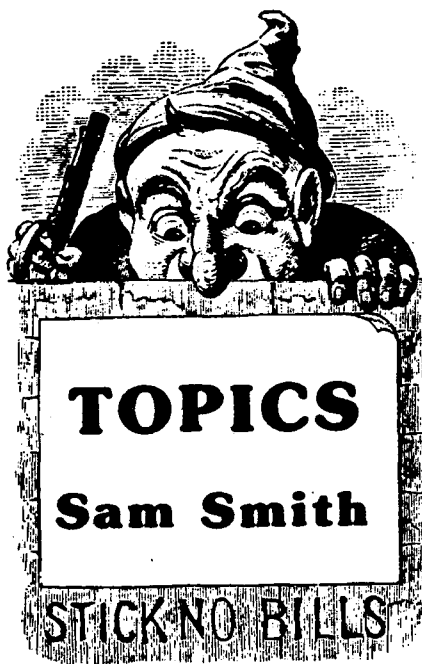
Actually, Washington seems to be your typical big city congressman, one of that species that gets a rating of 90% from ADA and 10% from the local US Attorney. His tax amnesia went on for so long that it outran the statute of limitations. In addition there were matters of unpaid water bills, property taxes and other legal quirks that the national press chose to ignore. If he had been white, the press would have had a field day with this stuff, but as it was the matter got all muddled up with such mystical symbols of our time as racism, paying one's dues and so forth.

What may have saved Washington was that Epton and his media consultant, Mr. Deardoff, seemed intent on proving the Washington camp's paranoia well-founded. The campaign against Washington got so dirty that at one point an anonymous flyer suggested he was a child-molester, a charge quickly knocked down by the local media.

It was perhaps around this time that Washington, despite his best efforts, began to gain enough sympathy in the white community to carry the day.

While the national press gave little of the flavor or substance of the campaign, the Chicago media carried the flag for American journalism and in particular the largely forgotten principle that the best way for a reporter to look at a politician is down his or her nose.

Mike Ryoko, of course: "It's a tough choice. Epton's supporters call Washington — because of his tax problems — a crook. Washington's supporters call Epton — because he visited Shrinks — a kook. A kook or a crook? And the voters turned down a two-for-one deal in Jane Byrne."



And Bill Granger in the Chicago Tribune:

"This paper endorsed the black guy for mayor, and large numbers of readers protested explaining that Col. McCormick would turn over his grave. Col. McCormick allegedly has been turning over in his grave so often at things the Tribune has done in the last 25 years that I would not be surprised if he has burrowed to China by now."

Granger, describing what he called the "battle of the midget mayoral candidates," remarked that "with the exception of George Dunne, president of the Cook County Board, the local machine Democrats have shown the statesmanship of rabid gerbils. This did not excite most Chicagoans, who have long suspected the true natures of the alderman and ward committeemen who serve them."

And Granger provided some historical background noting that the last Republican mayor of the city, Big Bill Thompson, went around with a rat in a cage and debated it, implying that it was a worthy substitute for his opponent. (Thompson also once threatened to punch the Prince of Wales in the nose if he dared to visit Chicago.)

Little of this fine feeling for the spirit of the campaign drifted into national coverage, which was largely of the Crisis of the Week variety full of Imports and Trends. There were a few exceptions, such as Washington Post reporter Bill Peterson's classic interview with Vito Marzullo, and, by the end of the campaign, boredom had driven the press somewhat away from the single issue of race, but on the whole the stuff read like an account of an orgy as summarized in a report for the issues committee of the League of Women Voters.

While race, was, of course, an important issue, it was not the only one. For example:

- There was the marvellous conundrum faced by bigots having to choose between a black Democrat and a Republican Jew.

- There was the dilemma of people who believe politicians should attend to ethical standards having to choose between a man convicted of not paying his taxes and a man accused of serious conflict-of-interest in his legislative activities. (On the latter point the aforementioned Bill Granger recalled the view of Matthias Googenheim: "The only

conflict of interest in politics is when you have a dinner meeting with two lobbyists on the same night in a different place.")

- The only tardily mentioned important role of groups that didn't fit neatly into the media's bigot-black categories, such as hispanic and liberal Jewish voters.

- There was the threat posed by Harold Washington to the traditional party machine. As alderman Roman Pucinski put it, "I don't think the organization is in a mood to provide him with a guillotine to cut off its head."

- There was the pattern of ethnic voting in Chicago that existed long before blacks were a significant force. As one local politician once put it: "A Lithuanian won't vote for a Pole, and a Pole won't vote for a Lithuanian. A German won't vote for either. But all three will vote for an Irishman."

- There was the high irony that because of Epton's republicanism and Washington's anti-machine politics, neither candidate would be able to get along with the powerful city council.

- And there was the greatly underplayed role of the patronage issue, which even a bigot might consider more important than race.

To get a feel for the Chicago situation, it may help to think of the Harold Washington group and the traditional white political machine as two rival mobs. If you were to find these two mobs fighting, you might conclude that they were fighting over racial matters and, in part, that would be true. But it would not be a good description because it would exclude other factors of contention, such as power, turf and money. If both the mobs were black, or both white, the potential of confrontation would not be significantly mitigated, although its character and expression might be changed.

Harold Washington started out with a number of handicaps. Sixty-six percent of his own party had indicated that it didn't want him to be mayor. That two-thirds in opposition included much of the organizing strength of the Democratic Party. He proposed emasculating patronage, which in Chicago is like a president promising to topple the free enterprise system, and he had been found by the courts to be what is commonly known as a crook. On top of this he was black.

Given these liabilities, there was strong cause for Washington to follow the first law of politics: Be nice. But Washington not only defeated the machine, he threw egg in its face. He bragged, "Now it's our turn," his campaign manager lectured that "The purpose of the Democratic organization is to support the party's nominee," he said that if his supporters got the idea "that this campaign is going to turn into a race war *** some innocent person may wind up dead," and Washington refused to take steps to heal the primary rifts.

It was too bad his old leader, Richard Daley, wasn't around to advise him. Daley was known as a boss, but part of his secret of staying boss was listening to the people he was bossing. He was as much a creature of his organization as he was its leader.

Or he might have listened to black politicians who have disproved the myth that black candidates can't develop a white constituency — like Tom Bradley,

Andrew Young or Wilson Goode. While Bradley lost the California governorship, it is also probably true that he got more white votes than any black candidate in American history. And he didn't do it by acting like Harold Washington.

The sad part about the way Washington played his campaign was that either way he lost. Either he lost the election or else he won titular control over a bitterly divided city.

Of yes, I would have voted for him. But I sure as hell wouldn't have bragged about it.

Never again?

The remembrance of the Holocaust seemed to get unnecessarily mixed up with domestic and international politics. The anniversary came at an awkward time for both the administration and for Jewish leaders, what with the former cozying up to Israel's designated surrogate Nazis, the Arabs, and the latter in the somewhat unusual position of having to ward off charges of oppression and tyranny against the Israeli government.

Everyone seemed to rush to the clear-cut horror of the past in an effort to escape the complexities of the present. The result was a considerable increase in excessive journalistic and

political rhetoric, for the most part neither salving pain nor imparting wisdom.

One good rule of thumb is that when you find yourself writing, "Words can't express. . .," it's a good time to shut up. In the case of the Holocaust commentary, there were generally three to five thousand words to go.

Some of this writing had an unfortunate tone of more-sensitive-about-this-than-thou. While it is obvious that those who survived the horror have a depth of feeling and understanding that others can not (nor should hope to) emulate, this should not deny the feelings and observations of non-survivors. After all, at some point there will be no more survivors and the world will be on its own.

Participants in a great event, whether inspiring or horrible, have only transitory control on how that event moves into history and symbolism. This can be painful to the participants but almost inevitable.

There are, of course, still choices to be made as to how the Holocaust is remembered, which is why the location of the new Holocaust museum bothers a number of people. Placed near the fair-like environment of the Mall it risks becoming a morbid side-show for which the visitor will be neither prepared nor provided with space for re-

flection. It also already has been taken as a political statement to the effect that the suffering of the Jews is worthy of recognition but not the suffering of slaves, Indians or even non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

It might have been wiser to have chosen a site at the end of long, isolated road, during the transit of which the visitor can meditate on what is to be seen and what was seen. Or the example of Philadelphia, which planted a tree along its major boulevard for each citizen of that city killed in World War I, might have been followed. Instead, in what seems more of a political than a prudent decision, prominence was picked over solemnity, and the reiteration of brutality instead of the evocation of its alternative.

There is the further matter of what we will learn from the Holocaust. In a letter to the Washington Post, Milton F. Capps points out that the Holocaust Council has refused for several years to follow a key recommendation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, convened during the Carter administration. The commission recommended that the Holocaust Memorial Council spend its days not only reminding us of the tragedy of European Jewry several decades past, but also alerting the chief executive to the possibility of genocides, wherever they might occur, today. In these days

CHARLES MCDOWELL

Dull Day at the White House

WASHINGTON — There was no big news due to be made at the White House, but the yard was looking really nice and worth a visit on a spring morning.

The forsythia bloomed brilliantly yellow around the fountain that flashed in the sunshine. The grass was deep green, and the trees were budding pale green, and the Marine standing guard at the West Wing door also proclaimed spring by wearing white duck trousers.

A couple of dozen people came out of the West Wing and walked down the driveway toward Pennsylvania Avenue. They walked slowly, enjoying the scenery. Through the iron fence and across the avenue, they could see the beds of red tulips and blue grape hyacinths around the shining white statue of Andrew Jackson on his rearing horse. Old Andy was lifting his hat to the White House. I knew one of the men in the group. He is on the staff of the American Press Institute in Reston. These people with him were editorial writers from all over the country. They had come to the White House for a talk with Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, chairman of the Presidential Commission on Strategic Forces. Now they had finished discussing the MX missile and were looking at the flowers.

They went off in the direction of the tulips and grape hyacinths, and I went inside to the press room to look at the bulletin board.

President Reagan had met with members of his staff at 9 a.m. and

then had a quiet morning. He was meeting with some bankers at 11:30 to ask them to support income-tax withholding on interest and dividends. At noon he was going from his office in the West Wing to the East Room in the main house to congratulate some citizens who had done outstanding volunteer work in their communities.

There was talk in the press room that the president might go horseback riding in the afternoon, but nothing definite on the bulletin board.

On Mrs. Reagan's side of the bulletin board was a notice that, at 11:30, she was presenting an award to the 1983 National Teacher of the Year. His name is LeRoy E. Hay. He is 38 years old and a Ph.D., and he teaches "English and futuristics" at Manchester High School in Connecticut. The White House news release said: "By discussing the world of the future — hunger, technology, transportation, and how some of the problems might be solved — students move from a passive to an active attitude toward themselves and the world around them."

Later in the day Mrs. Reagan was going to Pittsburgh to tape a Public Broadcasting Service program on drug and alcohol abuse.

A regular White House correspondent tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Time for a feeding."

That is droll press talk for somebody coming out of the White House offices to give information to the correspondents. I followed my friend to the driveway outside the West Wing door, where seven television cameras and any number of microphones were awaiting the feeding.

The bankers were emerging from their meeting with the president. Their spokesman, a neat, pleasant banker from New York, came to the cameras and microphones. He explained that his group was for income-tax withholding on interest and dividends. The day before, a similar group had been dead-set against it. Yes, the banker from New York said, his group was distinctly in the minority, but they wanted everyone to know that at least some bankers were on the president's side.

After the banker made his point several times — withholding is "entirely appropriate" though fairly expensive for the banks — the questioning veered off into barely related subjects such as interest rates and the general state of the economy. The reporters were speculating idly for a story.

Sam Donaldson of ABC News intervened. Donaldson has a way of intervening. With mock seriousness he said to the banker, "Has the president made a shambles of the economy, do you think? Feel free to use your own words if you don't like mine."

The banker laughed and Donaldson laughed and somebody said, "Thank you." The news conference was over. There would be more people to interview when the volunteers' meeting with the president broke up. But now there was time to stand around in the sunshine and enjoy a magnificent dull day at the White House.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

of carnage in India, Lebanon and other places, there is bitter irony in the fact that the council continues to avert its eyes from holocausts here and now and remains, instead, transfixed by the past. There is mounting evidence that genocide is not as selective or exclusive as might once have been thought, and mass murder neither originated nor ended with the Nazis."

Amnesty International, for example, estimates that more than a million people have been victims of political killings over the past twenty years in nine countries alone. This is hardly up to the level of the Nazi extermination program, but does suggest that we remain far from "Never Again." Further, it is questionable whether evil should be judged primarily by the efficiency with which it is demonstrated.

Finally, in a sad footnote to the Holocaust observance, Alexander Cockburn in the Village Voice reported last month that Simon Wiesenthal, the famed Nazi-hunter, was about to give the Simon Wiesenthal Humanitarian Award to UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick who, among her other activities, is "a prime apologist for neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic regimes, such as Argentina, Paraguay, Guatemala, etc. Kirkpatrick indeed favored the Bolivian coup which brought to power those who protect Klaus Barbie."

Change of heart

Although, for the most part, the Reagan penny-pinching has caused naught but misery and trouble, I was glad to see that in at least one instance it has

Department
of
Gaga



WHEN teachers in Santa Clara County get homesick for that scholarly life they came to know and love in teacher school, the local Dept. of Ed. is happy to provide them lots more of it, real neat stuff like this:

We will explore both theoretically and experimentally [sic] how to develop positive self-esteem in the classroom. We will create a positive and validating climate, in which we can relax, recharge and reinspire ourselves, and reaffirm our own essential self-worth and learn numerous classroom methods for facilitating positive self-esteem in our classrooms.

We will use such methods as guided imagery, positive focus, the language of responsibility, physical nurturance, communication recognition, strength identification, relaxation, and many others to help our students learn to accept themselves totally and learn to take action in the world. (Fee \$30.00)

And here's a cheapy (\$17) called 'Science as a Verb' which it may be in their 'language of responsibility':

Basic principles of science will be experienced through activities appropriate for classroom instruction; instruction will use common, easy-to-come-by materials.

How they experience principles, we don't know, but we'd sure like to see it, maybe just as they get to osmosis.

-Underground Grammarian

Poor Leadership, Motivation and Training Said to Be Behind Setbacks on Battlefield

- Now where have we seen that headline before? No, gentle reader, it's not about THAT war; it's from a New York Times story on El Salvador.

produced a salutary change of heart. On March 3, the Attorney General, William French Smith, announced that his department was looking for ways to punish nonviolent criminals without putting them in prison. Smith is not going soft, it's just that prisons cost too much. It is not clear if Smith's revelation applies to state and local non-violent criminals. After all, as the Associated Press pointed out, "most nonviolent federal crimes are white-collar crimes, such as embezzlement, fraud or corporate price-fixing."

The other candidate

The chief of our Gadsden, Alabama, bureau, Charles Centerfit Hart, has been filing regular reports on one of the lesser-known candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination, one Gerald Willis of Calhoun County. A former state legislator who runs a lumber business, Willis has been getting the brush-off from the national Democrats and the media. Fulfilling this journal's responsibility to report alternatives wherever one finds them, here's some background on Willis:

He's running as the "Common Man's Candidate" on a theme borrowed from Andrew Jackson, "Let the People Rule." Willis also borrowed from Jackson the plans for his home, which is an exact replica of the Hermitage complete with six columns in front and six in back. One of Willis's campaign brochures notes that Willis "has patterned his campaign and his political life after the life of his political idol, Andrew Jackson. *** This applies not only to President Jackson's political philosophy, but to his own lifestyle. He resides in a home just like the one Jackson had in Nashville, Tenn., and he agrees with those who say Gerald Willis even has a physical resemblance to Andrew Jackson."

Willis kicked off his campaign with a \$25 a plate fund raiser in the Gadsden State Junior College cafeteria, but the day before the event the local newspaper announced that those who wanted to could come for free.

He thinks people in Washington "have totally forgotten about the everyday working person." And he promotes a pragmatism not particularly noted in certain Washington quarters these days: "You can't always stay the course. If you find out something doesn't work you have got to try something new."

He admits, "If I've got a weak point at all, it is foreign policy. Of course, I can learn very quickly. The State Department briefed me back in June on foreign policy and gave me a lot of the information I need, and I can go for a

briefing every week if I want to, or every day."

One of his supporters, Virgil M. Smith, recently enthused about Willis to the TV preacher, Pat Robertson:

After the reiterating the core theme of Willis's house ("I have absolutely never seen anything like it. It has wood from all over the world and all kinds of fancy furniture"), Smith goes on to say:

"Gerald has always been a problem solver. He can build complicated things without even drawing out any plans. The Alabama Power Company told him that it would cost \$30 per day to cool the house in the summertime, but Gerald devised a method of cooling the house of \$.80 a day. He can heat the house, which is almost 8000 square feet of living area for less than \$300 a year and buy all the fuel.

"This man is absolutely amazing. One minute he will be pushing someone out of the mud at the Willis Lumber Company, getting complicated equipment back to working, or selling lumber to somebody on the phone from some distant place. He is well versed in almost everything but the English language. He still talks with an accent like the people around where he was raised."

On another occasion, Smith described Willis as "the only man in Piedmont with the guts to run for president." At the recent parade of Democratic candidates at an Atlanta fund-raising dinner, Willis was denied the opportunity to speak. Bert Lance reportedly told him that since the national media didn't recognize him as a candidate he would not recognize him either.

If anyone would like to sponsor a debate between Willis and, say, John Glenn, you can write Willis at PO Box 1984, Piedmont, Ala. 36272 (205-447-9085).

Flotsam & Jetsam

A BOOK LENGTH collection of essays by Gazette editor Sam Smith culled from 15 years of this journal and a few other places. Topics cover a wide field including trains, England, music, home computers, football, the humanities, pumping iron, Benjamin Franklin, corruption, ghostwriters, becoming forty, Martin Luther King and words and meaning. If you have enjoyed the Gazette, we believe you will find this collection appealing.

For a copy send \$2.00 to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

THE PRESS

Bob Alperin

On any given day the *Washington Post* is more likely to ignore stories about problems in the nuclear power industry than to print them. (See *Gazette* Mar. '82, and Feb. '83.) Unlike many papers, the *Post* news and editorial sections ignored the anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident.

A *Los Angeles Times* opinion piece used cooling vents in reactor safety systems as an example of how the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's initial post-TMI safety concerns have slowed. TMI's vents require manual operation. After the accident nobody could go in to open them. Remote-controlled vents were obviously needed. January, 1981, then July, 1982, were deadlines for all plants to have the new vents. Last year the NRC told Congress the vents were "necessary" but the schedule "unfeasible." Even at TMI's idle twin of the damaged reactor, essential items in the NRC's safety action plan haven't been applied.

An engineer on the management team cleaning up TMI accused General Public Utilities and Bechtel Corp. of trying to circumvent quality assurance requirements for a crane used in the reactor core cleanup (AP-St. Louis *Post Dispatch*; also, *Philadelphia Inquirer*). He said the NRC failed to protect his confidentiality when he complained, and that it showed the companies drafts of NRC documents before official versions were released. A 56-page affidavit with such charges against EPA or many other agencies would have received saturation coverage by the *Post*. This one was ignored.

* * *

AP reported that for the first time in the US nuclear industry's history, a plant's primary and backup automatic safety shutdown systems had failed (*Inquirer*, *Atlantic City Press*, *Miami Herald*). It happened twice within a few days at a Salem, N.J. plant. The NRC blamed poor maintenance and feared the problem was widespread nationally. Since 1973 nationally there had been 35 failures of one system.

The NRC warned that in the 24.5 seconds it took to shut down the second double failure manually, there could have been a severe accident if the plant had been operating at full capacity. (Starting up after refueling, it was only running at 12%.)

After ignoring the story for nine days, the *Post* ran "NRC Orders N-Plants to Test Shutdown Systems." The final paragraph noted the double failure.

Four days later the *Post* had "NRC Cites Safety Device In Reactor Shutdown," hardly as inviting or informative as "Reactor failure called the worst since TMI scare" (*Herald*) or "NRC stresses severity of N.J. nuclear plant incident" (*Baltimore Sun*). Overall, the *Post* had the more informative story.

Neither the wire service accounts nor the *Post* story went beyond NRC personnel as sources. Excellent followups in the *Press* and *Boston Globe* consulted the Union of Concerned Scientists, a group critical of the nuclear industry, and industry sources.

* * *

Printing front page accusations and brief, back page denials isn't unknown even in the better papers. Both the *Post* and the *New York Times* are important research sources. Both are indexed but differences in index policy mean the *Post* back-page briefs have far more harmful ramifications than do those in the *Times*.

A *Post* front pager, based on U.S. intelligence sources, asserted China gave Pakistan sensitive information about designing nuclear bombs. (Would China really help a neighbor develop the bomb?) Two days later, on the last news page, an unheadlined brief noted China's denial.

China's denial wasn't in the *Post* index, which excludes items less than two column inches. (There is an exception to the rule—if the item is "part of a continuing story"—but it wasn't invoked.) The *Post* index appears far more rapidly than does the *Times*; but the latter is far more inclusive and informative.

Curiously, the original front page story was listed under neither "China" nor "Pakistan" in spite of assurances that cross references appear at all reasonable index entry points. By the way, the *Post* recently changed index manufacturers. This example is from the new company's work.

* * *

Post headlines too often obscure what is significant

in a story. *Post* writers must take some blame, when they eschew the traditional journalistic practice of revealing the main point of the story in the first sentence. Indeed, they sometimes disguise the story's topic. But other times editors or headline writers must be blamed. *Post* stories appear in out-of-town papers under far more informative headlines:

- "Israeli Police Block 'Settlement' on Temple Mount" (*Post*) says less than "Police Seize 45 Jewish Militants in Temple Mount Takeover Try" (*Hartford Courant*). The bland "Settlement" hardly prepared us to read in paragraphs eight and nine that the blocked group included out-of-uniform Israeli soldiers or persons with automatic weapons. The *Herald* ("Zealots grab...") and *Globe* ("take over") said more but, like the *Post*, failed to say who was trying to seize the Mount. A diverse array of groups might have done it.

- Two other examples of papers better introducing Mid-East stories than the *Post*: "Hussein Refuses to Join Talks" (*Post*) pales before "Hussein links talks to pressure on Israel" (*Herald*). The first sentence noted he "virtually" ruled out joining the peace talks unless US pressure on Israel sharply increased. "Foes of PLO form group in Lebanon" (*Globe*) outpointed the *Post* head "Palestinian 'Guard' Formed."

- An important story on a Soviet missile test exemplified how a comprehensive story can tell all but the very determined reader less than a briefer one patched together from wire service reports. It showed, too, how headlines can make or dull the story's point. *Herald* readers knew by paragraph two that the Soviet test was important because solid-fueled missiles are more reliable than liquid ones, and that all US land-based ICBM's are solid-fueled. *Post* readers waited until paragraph six. The *Post* headline "New Soviet Missile Failed in First Flight..." hardly was as helpful as the *Herald*'s "Soviets failed in test of solid-fueled ICBM..."

Even with its problems of presentation, this *Post* story should have had an impact on discussions of the strategic balance. It noted virtually all of the Soviet land-based missiles are liquid-fueled "including all of Moscow's latest and most menacing weapons."

- Does "Copycat" Drug Shortcut Cut Off by High Court" (*Post*) tell as much as "Generic drugs must have

FDA approval..." (*Baltimore Sun*)? Compare "New Twist In Tokyo Scandal" (*Post*) with "Former Tanaka aide admits receiving \$2.1 million" (*Globe*) as clues to a new turn in a Lockheed bribery case involving a former Japanese Prime Minister.

- A pattern of toning down the impact of stories is found in some Latin American items. "U.S. Relieves 3 of Salvadorean Duties" (*Post*) was a main heading with a smaller print "Army Advisers Violated Rules" above it. Those two tries missed the point: "3 GIs booted for Salvador combat roles" (*Herald*). While the *Post* had "Panama Charges U.S. Spying" over a short, the *Courant* and *Herald* headlines noted it was the US envoy personally who was charged. (They provided longer analyses.)

- "Returned Body Identified" introduced a minimally-informative brief. "Salvador body is U.S. writer..." (*Herald*) reflected a more informative story—the body was found in "a body dump where right-wing death squads leave their work from the night before" and the parents charged Salvadorean government forces with the killing.

- At least twice *Post* vagueness served to shield talk of murder. They had "Castro Attacks U.S. at Summit of Nonaligned" while the *Herald* wrote "CIA Plotting My Murder, Castro Says." The *Post* story didn't mention any previous US plots against Castro, but the *Herald* ran a separate box listing the eight CIA plots to kill him reported by the Senate Intelligence Committee in 1975.

Similarly, compare "New Charges Reported In CIA Plot on Allende" (*Post*) with "US reportedly mulled plans to kill Allende" (*Globe*), or "Did Nixon give OK to kill Chilean?" plus sub-head "Book claims CIA got green light on Allende" (*Herald*). The stories were about a forthcoming Seymour Hersh book, and his *Atlantic* articles. (The stories differed in their treatment of Kissinger. The others did more than the *Post*'s fleeting reference. The *Globe* added a major feature followup, revealing among other things, Kissinger's remarkable ignorance of, and contempt for, Latin America. Chided by the Chilean envoy for knowing nothing of the region, Super K responded that he didn't care.)

* * *

EUGENE MCCARTHY

Private weather

armed with a broom, emerging or standing outside the weather house, whereas good weather was represented by a jovial, satisfied man.

The second phase of the Reagan Administration's proposal contemplates the transfer to the private sector of weather analysis and forecasting. It has not yet been indicated whether these analysts will have to be licensed, somewhat as meat inspectors are, or under the authority of the Consumer Protection Agency or the Environmental Protection Agency or subject to suits for "malpractice" or whether they will have to restrict their terms and measures of weather and its effects to accepted government standards or standards already accepted, although ill defined, with a reasonable margin for error.

Understanding the weather and interpreting the forecasts may become even more difficult than is now the case. One has to distinguish between temperature measurements in Centigrade and Fahrenheit, with the added factor of wind-chill. One can not get a simple projection of say an inch of rain for tomorrow, but has to give thought to a twenty percent chance, or a fifty percent chance, that there will be any rain. One must know that "heavy snow" is not necessarily heavy, but likely to be deep, and light snow is not in fact "light", but small in volume. The "discomfort index", a mathematical combination of temperature and humidity and applicable to government employees in non-air conditioned buildings, triggering at the critical point the release of those employees, may not be recognized in the private sector. Air quality indexes and the absoluteness of the pollen count, already under challenge, may be destabilized in the new free market weather reading and interpreting. And a new measure, being talked about by the U.S. Weather Bureau, a measure of the stress factor in the weather, may never be tested.

All of which may argue for a return of the *Farmers' Almanac*, as the best source of weather information.

According to a recent announcement, the Reagan Administration is considering selling parts of the nation's weather service to private companies or possibly even to individuals, such as Gardon Barnes or Willard Scott.

The reasons given for the proposed sale are not quite clear. If reducing the national debt were the objective, it would be better to offer for sale all radio and television licenses as new ones are offered or old ones come up for renewal. The offering could be made at auction, in somewhat the same way that the rights to graze cattle and sheep on public lands are offered. The right to graze on the public mind and will could fairly be treated as something the government might also offer to the highest bidder.

The Reagan spokesmen have not said that they thought the private sector could give us better weather or more of it, as they generally assert in their support of the private sector in other services. Competition among weather analysis and forecasters, beginning with ownership of the instruments for studying weather, might give better results than we now get through the competitive interpretation of radio and television weather persons. That competition is not now judged on the basis of whether the weather expert is right or wrong, but on the size of his listening or watching audience. Professional competence does not seem to be a measure of distinction, Willard Scott does well or better than other weather persons who are "meteorologists." Willard is not.

The early television weather persons were women. Whereas a few women have held on as weather reporters, they are usually weekend and substitute reporters and none that I know of are "meteorologists." There may be an equal rights issue involved here. In the old German and Swiss weather forecasters, men and women were both included, although there was some discrimination. Usually bad weather, either approaching or continuing, was represented by a scolding woman,

MRS. WEBER'S DIARY



A *Hartford Courant* series, "The Powerful In Hartford," focused on corporate leaders giving examples of their influence on specific government decisions. "Corporate Cash, Clout Flow Through United Way" showed how recipients may modify behavior in anticipation of how corporate givers may use their United Way influence. But UW gives Hartford's major militant coalition 61% of its funds, and is responsive to newer, non-traditional groups more than most UWs. (The DC-based National Committee for Responsible Philanthropy gives it high marks.)

The *Courant*, now owned by the *LA Times-Mirror*, was no longer "intimately tied to the city's power structure," and thus perhaps less inhibited from examining in detail, yet respectfully, the private elites' effects on public decisions.

"Courant Rules As Dominant News Source" was a frank self-examination of problems common on metropolitan papers nationwide. Statewide the staff was younger and more affluent than its audience. The average age of reporters covering Hartford was but 28, few had roots there, and "almost none" attended its public schools. In a city with a black majority and 30,000 Hispanics, few reporters were black and none on the news desk were fluent in Spanish.

The editor thought the city wouldn't be covered properly until minorities were in some of the paper's decision-making posts. It hired an affirmative action officer and used summer internships as minority training programs. The paper's record was said to be better than most Hartford employers, and "slightly better" than the newspaper industry's average.

The *Courant's* examination of private power reminds us how seldom such structures are examined in comparison to the often relentless pursuit of political figures. Thus, the public is regularly subjected to derogatory information about politicians and the political system, while little is said about the private sector's overall power positions. There are, of course, stories of private groups lobbying or involved in some illegal activities, but such scrutiny is passing rather than persistent.

On the eve of Vice-President Bush's Ottawa trip, Prime Minister Trudeau said the Canada-US weapons test deal did not obligate Canada to allow cruise missile tests in its territory. He was replying to US envoy Robinson's claim that refusal would be a breach of the agreement (UPI-St. Louis Post-Dispatch). The *Post* ignored the exchange even though briefly noting the agreement the next day, and later running the lengthy "U.S. Missile Test Plan Worries Canadians."

The promised subject appeared briefly after four inches. Then there was a three inch detour. Eventually there was minimum information on the agreement, and on the Canadian public's opposition to cruise and support of disarmament. It ignored possible Canadian motives for the pact (fear of US lumber duties, NATO

obligation). The article illustrates the *Post* practice of working ignored stories (April *Gazette*) into later ones. As the Mar. 28 article noted: "Ottawa and Washington last month signed a framework agreement..."

- South Africa's expulsion of a Dutch journalist (Jan. *Gazette*) had an ironic twist. The reporter left his passport for routine renewal and attended the Foreign Correspondents Association lunch with the Minister of Constitutional Development who talked of SA's progress. The returned passport had an order to leave within two weeks. The FCA revealed three other correspondents were "under the same threat" (*Rand Daily Mail-Johannesburg*).

- The *Post*, which ignored the above affair, reported and editorialized when the SA police raided the home and office of their SA correspondent and warned him of possible criminal charges. Perhaps they'll now take an interest in banned black SA newsmen. On the other hand, a week after the police raid coverage, they ignored the death in a SA prison of a 20-year-old black woman arrested for not having her passport. Her brother said she was a diabetic who died because she couldn't take her insulin. Officials were investigating (*Reuter-Globe*).

- The SA Defence Force reported the death of Lt. Alan Gingles fighting terrorists in the "operational area" (the area between Angola and Namibia). The *Observer* (London) argued that the Sandhurst-trained ex-British officer actually died on a sabotage mission in Mozambique, 300 miles from SA. A photographed page of a handwritten novel of Northern Ireland, his birthplace, led to his home and handwriting comparisons.

Noting that SA said Gingles had been stationed at Phalaborwa, the paper said that allegedly was a training place for the Mozambique National Resistance which has carried out sabotage raids in Mozambique.

- UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar hit at SA's stalling on Namibian negotiations and its "hostile acts aimed at destabilizing Zimbabwe's economy" (*Arab News*).

- SA has asked universities to comment on proposed legislation that would establish quotas to limit the number of blacks at white universities (*Globe*). Currently non-whites may attend white universities with government permission. The main reason for granting it is the unavailability of particular courses at the applicant's non-white university. Increasing numbers of non-whites are at white (usually English-speaking) universities.

Two *Post* miniatures: Mar. 13—Philippine Cardinal, in conciliatory move, says he'll help establish broad-based advisory council for national unity. Mar. 24—Cardinal says Filipinos being "slaughtered" with foreign weapons, asks US to stop sending arms. These shifts in approach towards the Marcos government rate more explanation.

In reporting the politics and scandals of the Environmental Protection Agency, the *Post* publicized many environmental problems, but politics sometimes seemed to shove aside the latter. Who suspected that the head "Recruiting for EPA Intensifies" and the sub-head "Reagan Officials Say Acting Chief May be a Liability" would introduce news that EPA delayed for over 18 months the cleanup of lead contaminated soil in a poor black Dallas neighborhood.

The lead story briefly surfaced in paragraphs eight and nine, then sank for 16 paragraphs. Although some concentrations 60 times the supposed danger threshold were found, the now-ousted official saw no emergency. He went with blood tests and admonitions to plant grass and keep clean homes. The *Herald*, which did a separate lead story, said the three lead-smelting companies in the area offered to pay for the clean-up. The *Post* vaguely spoke of their being "willing to go forward."

When EPA closed down the only national laboratory testing hospital disinfectants, the *Post* had a great story, noting both possible health problems and the protest from "state officials, industry leaders and scientists." But the same day, a report that EPA charged Dow with polluting a Michigan river, said the EPA study was completed in 1981. It was a preliminary report of a new study, backing the earlier findings (*Inquirer*). The latter noted Dow's refusal to allow EPA on its plant grounds for testing.

- In reporting the Lebanese Army's entry into Christian East Beirut, the *Post* made passing note of continued Christian militia control of the city's busiest port area. The *NY Times* explained that pier fees brought the Philangist party \$250 million annually. Shortly afterward, unreported in the *Post* or *NYT*, the army took over the remaining port areas. The *Inquirer* report placed past militia annual income at \$250 annually, and wondered what they received in return for leaving so lucrative an area. The Christian forces still controlled Dubayeh, five miles east of Beirut, where they smuggle weapons and collect pier fees. (They charge less than official rates.)

- On several occasions the *Post* didn't report deaths or wounding of Israeli troops in Lebanon. At least once the Israelis flew mock bombing runs over Lebanon (*Herald*). Such omissions deny readers an understanding of some of their concerns over the abilities of the international peacekeeping forces.

- The *Post* ignored two stories dealing with defining who is Jewish, both of them have considerable potential for affecting relations between Israel and Jews elsewhere. US Reform rabbis broke with tradition and ancient law which defined Jews as being a child of a Jewish mother, and said any children of mixed marriages should be presumed to be Jewish if they perform public, formal acts such as bar mitzvahs or confirmations. Israel's Law of Return, using the traditional definition of who's a Jew, bestows citizenship on those who come

and ask for it. Thus some who were never there become instant citizens, while others, Palestinians born in what's now Israel but who were forced out or fled the 1948 war, cannot return to their homeland.

A second story was the Israeli religious parties' efforts to amend the Law of Return, which also includes converts as Jewish, so that only those converted by Orthodox rabbis would be included. It lost 58-50 in the Knesset, a major argument against being it would offend Americans whose money and support Israel needed (Israel Radio).

* * *

- Between 1981 and 1983 the tough, anti-crime Reaganites cut budgeted positions in nine law enforcement agencies by 11%. Only the Secret Service was increased (*Post/Dispatch*).

- Studies normally done to buttress arms control negotiators haven't been done or have received no government-wide agreement according to senior State and Defense Dept. officials (*Inquirer*-Mar. 15). There were no agreed-upon positions on, among other things, the military usefulness of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles, the minimum Soviet demands, or US political goals. These and other evaluations are needed to assess how negotiable an issue is, or to establish fall-back positions.

- It's argued that the Freedom of Information Act costs the FBI informers, as potential ones fear FOI records access would lead to their identification. An FBI study, not given to Congress, found no such loss (*New York Times*).

- Recent research shows the Vatican role in trying to save Jews from the Holocaust. Concealment in church institutions and distribution of false documents were two tactics (*Herald*). Media focus on Wallenberg in Budapest mostly ignored the needed aid of the Papal Nuncio.

- When the man who wed 105 women was convicted of fraud and bigamy, the *Post* news folks passed up the story, while USA TODAY printed the entire wives' list by state and country.

ARTHUR HOPPE

Cairo, May 1, 2003: The latest U.S. peace plan for the Mideast was scrapped today after PLO Chief Yasser Thasmebebe refused to meet with Albanian tennis player Hok Tuwee.

Thasmebebe said angrily he had proof that in 1994 Tuwee had seen a re-run of "National Velvet" starring Elizabeth Taylor, who had once embraced Judaism in order to wed the fourth of her six husbands.

In Washington, a State Department spokesman termed the rejection of Tuwee a "grave disappointment" although he said he couldn't precisely recall Tuwee's assigned role in the negotiations.

On the bright side, Israel Premier Nevah Begin pledged in Jerusalem to "immediately withdraw" all Israeli troops from Lebanon "the very minute" the last combatant left that war-torn country.

Begin said this included the PLO, the Syrians, the Druze, all eight Moslem factions, all six Christian factions, all seven UN peacekeeping forces, all 16 surviving Lebanese civilians and Arthur J. Farney, a tourist from Secaucus, N.J., who claimed to be neutral.

At the same time, Begin promised not to build "one single solitary more" Israeli settlement on the West Bank, now one of the most densely populated areas of the world. He said he hoped this would refute "Arab propaganda" that he planned to double tier the present 14,783 Israeli outposts there.

"There's plenty more Promised Land where that West Bank came from," he said cheerfully.

Meanwhile, a Moslem peace mission from India, Sumatra, Sri Lanka and the National Basketball League, once again pleaded with Iran and Iraq to halt their war for 24 hours so that the long-spewing oil well in the Persian gulf could be capped.

In the past two decades, the resultant slick has spread through the Indian Ocean and into the South China Sea, threatening fish, wildlife and the recently fixed OPEC price of \$64 for either a barrel of oil or a glass of water.

Unfortunately, the peace mission was tossed out of Tehran by the Ayatollah Yussuf, who said he was much

too busy directing a mob of angry students who had seized the Soviet legation while burning a gross of Brazilian flags and shouting, "Death to America!"

In response to agitated protests from Moscow, the Ayatollah replied calmly: "All you infidels look alike to me."

The Russians were faring no better elsewhere. They had hailed North Yemen's recent victory over South Yemen under the mistaken impression that the former and not the latter was their ally. And through some unforeseen error, the heat-seeking SAM XXIV anti-aircraft missiles they had installed for the Syrians in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley turned out to be water-seeking SAM XXVIII anti-submarine missiles instead.

"Deeply regret loss of Royal Carp Pond," the Kremlin cabled President Haffa Sed, "and the rest of Damascus, too."

In retaliation, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution to nuke Israel by a vote of 182-0 with the U.S. abstaining. This apparently had no effect on Libya where Colonel Mororless Kharazi declared himself King of New South Wales.

In Washington, the president announced a new Mideast peace plan involving an approach through a Monrovia taxi driver to a Chinese vice premier whose grandfather had once played Ping-Pong with Albert S. Bailey, four-time entertainment chairman of the Des Moines, Iowa, Vannessa Redgrave Fan Club.

"We see no reason why this newest peace plan won't succeed," said the president optimistically, "either."

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AMERICAN JOURNAL

DAVID ARMSTRONG

American agriculture, as we've been reminded since childhood, is the eighth wonder of the world. That's why we have all those amber waves of grain along the roadside, all the picture-perfect produce in supermarkets nearly year-round, the staggering procession of convenience foods in quick-stop stores on every corner. From the outside, it looks perfect.

It's not. That's the conclusion of analysts for the Cornucopia Project, a three year study of U.S. agriculture sponsored by Rodale Press. An inside look at American agriculture, contend Rodale's thinkers, produces a very different picture of eroding soil, skyrocketing prices for petroleum and chemical-based fertilizers and fuel, fertile farmland paved over for new shopping centers, control of the food supply by powerful special interests and a host of other problems.

The solution to all these problems, according to the Cornucopia Project's experts, lies in an ecologically sound, decentralized agricultural system manned not only by farmers but by city dwellers who plant a garden, bypass conventional supermarkets for local farmers markets, and eat high-protein foods such as fish and fowl instead of beef.

It all sounds utopian, but the Cornucopia Project people are quite down-to-earth when it comes to describing the crisis of American agriculture. "It takes 1643 calories of energy to make a 12-ounce aluminum soda can that contains a drink with 150 calories of food energy," reads one Rodale publication. "Economic hardship has ruined many farmers," Rodale writers note elsewhere. "Since 1920, we have lost more than two-thirds of our farms, while average farm size has tripled from 150 to 450 acres. Currently, one percent of farmland owners control 30 percent of all farmland... The result is limited competition, standardized produce and higher prices."

The Cornucopia Project's sponsor, Rodale Press, is a prosperous health food publisher that churns out dozens of books each year, in addition to producing the popular magazines *Prevention* and *Organic Gardening*. *Prevention*, with a paid circulation of two and a half million, is the *Readers Digest* of health food, with its rather simplistic endorsement of positive thinking, its rural distrust of the city and its bedrock belief in standard-brand American individualism and free enterprise. The magazine also champions debatable health care concepts such as megavitamin therapy for a variety of ills.

With the Cornucopia Project, however, Rodale appears to be on to something. American agriculture, as it is presently conceived and structured, devastates as it creates and is dominated by a handful of corporations motivated chiefly by self-interest. In studying the nation's agriculture in a systematic way, Rodale is performing a service—one it promotes in a savvy way. Publicizing its ideas, Rodale has hosted symposia, taken out intelligent well-argued ads on the op-ed page of the *New York Times*, produced a blizzard of brochures and papers and published a report, *Empty Breadbasket*?, that has drawn plaudits from the likes of Ralph Nader.

It is in the righting of wrongs that the Cornucopia Project describes that problems crop up. This is natural, and not really Rodale's fault. It is always easier to describe a problem than to solve it. But Rodale's faith in individual solutions within the present order of things is naive. Sure, we can shop for locally grown produce at organic markets—provided we can find any with affordable prices. Moreover, many parts of the country are dominated by supermarket chains that are not known for their receptivity to change or reduced profit margins. Growing your own food at home is a viable course for some, but for others—lacking the time, patience or know-how—it's an improbable dream, at least in the short run.

The Cornucopia Project, to its credit, does spotlight steps that public interest groups and local, state and federal government can take to set things straight. Rodale's writers suggest establishing departments of food on the local level and stopping federal subsidies to companies that promote land speculation and groundwater mining. But the project doesn't suggest how these things could be done, other than crossing fingers and holding our breath.

None of this is to suggest that the Cornucopia Project is useless. Far from it. With the Cornucopia Project, Rodale Press has taken a lengthy first step, providing the information we need to embark on a very long march toward a rational, equitable, ecologically sane agriculture.

Most people, especially vets, don't like the memorial until they see it. It's like fighting in Vietnam, in a way. You have to be there to understand it. — Fred Alvis, Vietnam veteran on the Vietnam Memorial.

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Across the Room

A short story by MARK KAMINE

In the dim light of the dining room at the Auberge it is difficult to distinguish clearly faces more than two or three tables distant. I have spent many dinners staring at a table across the room where I saw what I took to be the profile of a familiar person only to find on my way to the exit that not only did the profile I had been studying not belong to the man or woman to whom I believed but that, surprisingly, instead of seeing a stranger at the table, I would glimpse close up the face of another acquaintance, a person whom I would never conceive confusing with that person I had thought to be dining in our town's one fine restaurant. I don't exaggerate when I write that this peculiar variation of mistaken identity happened at many dinners—there were certainly five or six, and I expect there will be more—but there is one particular evening that each fresh confusion at the Auberge has brought back into my memory, and I don't believe it is simply because this was the first instance of proximity revealing to me something quite other than distance had convinced me of; it was just that the extreme contrast between she whom I thought was at the table and she who really was makes this instance exceptional and in some way archetypal so that I naturally recall it in every similar situation. I might say here that "contrast" is perhaps not the correct word, though in retrospect I can't think of a more proper one to convey what I suddenly became aware of when I perceived, on approaching the darkened table, that I had indulged in an hour and a half's memories of a woman who wasn't there, a woman here replaced by one who, herself, could have evoked from me memories different but of equal duration and equal emotional intensity.

As is usual for me, I had stayed late at the office that Thursday night, phoning those of my clients who were only available after working hours. I proceeded from my office to the Auberge quite satisfied with the evening's work, having gained the confidence of two new clients who had decided to invest significant amounts in the same stock, one of the five or six our office kept in inventory, one of two issues I was particularly keen on that season. To celebrate I planned for myself a luxurious dinner. On the ride over I amused myself by recalling as much of the Auberge's wine list as I could and then trying to narrow to three or four selections which to drink with dinner; I finally decided on one red and one white, for the red a '68 Corton-Pougets that had impressed me on an earlier occasion; the white was an unusual choice, one of the few German wines on the list, an unpronounceable '57 Rhine which the Maitre D'Hotel had once explained was a gift from a brother in Alsace, also a restaurateur; the Maitre D' donated four bottles to the Auberge, "to round out the selection," as he put it.

Soon after I sat down at my customary table in an alcove on the side of the restaurant farthest from the door, two fingers of rye on the rocks in one hand, menu in the other, a rather large party of six or seven seated itself at a table a few dozen yards across the room from me, alongside the bar. I noted little more than the

swishing of a tercet of silk gowns before turning my attention to the menu.

For those minutes before my wine and appetizer arrived, I sipped my cocktail and computed commissions: the rye and the small fortune I found I had made sharpened my appetite. Until the waiter headed my way, bottle in hand, I remained in a half-starved, half-satisfied daze, seeing nothing but the flicker of a kerosene lamp on a nearby table and its reflection on the gold band on the ring finger of my left hand, now stretched out on the table before me, resting atop the menu.

The Rhine was quite delectable. It has a full bouquet, a more fruity taste than I expected, very rich, very lovely to swallow. I admit it somewhat overwhelmed the salmon roulade I had ordered. But I fear the roulade was to be smothered in any case, for after bringing the first forkful to my mouth, a casual glance at the table across the way revealed to me an unmistakable profile, the mere flicker of a profile, a face turned no doubt to answer tersely a question. At first I refused to believe it could be her. I studied the contours of the shoulders and the ivory-clad back, regarded with interest the full mane of ebony hair. I waited for another look at the face, but the woman seemed to be engaged in a conversation with a young lady across from her. Mechanically I ate the appetizer. Only on occasional sip of wine enlivened my taste buds and brought some fraction of my attention away from the far table.

My usual salad, spinach leaves with a hot dressing, came next. It was, as always, superb, and so I divided my attention between it and the distant apparition until she suddenly turned her head to follow a group of diners newly entered. There was presented to me a three-quarters view of her face: I flinched and were it not for the degree of awareness of place the salad gave me would have ducked in fear lest she see me. But by now I had no doubt, hazy as the features were, that sitting there so nearby, so impossibly close, it was indeed Gianna, and I resolved to calm myself and speak to her.

What would I say? We had parted in such confusion. I left her to arrive eventually at divorce. She had disappeared, back to Europe, to her native Florence. What had brought her back? I suppressed the hope growing inside of me. She was with a half dozen friends, gaily conversing, laughing even. There was no reason for me to believe I had anything to do with her presence. I resolved to continue my dinner without interruption and only on leaving to stop and greet her. It would be foolish to stand and march across the room only to have to return, after a few words, alone to my table. Better to observe her while sipping my wine. Better to observe, and remember.

Gianna is a very beautiful woman and though I don't believe she owes her beauty to it, she is also a woman who is always carefully prepared. Her wardrobe exceeds by leaps and bounds what we normally think of as excessive, and yet each item is functional for some occasion or other. She has a collection of people she goes to or who come to her to take care of skin, hair, nails. Her skin is smooth and olive, her hair raven-colored,

very thick and wavy, her figure full. She has a straight, thin nose, and huge dark eyes. Her mouth is wide (she criticized it often as too wide: "Can you imagine the lipstick I go through") and drawn down in such a way as to give her a melancholy expression where most people's faces seem only vacant. Her face is narrow, with high cheekbones.

She came to me one day on the recommendation of a mutual friend. Her husband's estate had been finally put in order and she found herself with a nice sum of money which she had no use for her. She had just moved her own business (involved in some aspect of the fashion industry) to the United States from its headquarters in Milan, and was looking for "some American things to invest in."

She was wearing that day one of those colorful and floppy hats that so few women can carry off, and a large pair of sunglasses. She was completely open about her plans to live and work in the United States; she addressed me directly, speaking with intelligence about her affairs, confiding enough of what investors usually consider private business to make me feel respected and not, as some of my clients manage, to make me feel more than a middle man. And yet the more specific she became about her past life, her property, even part of her biography (dual citizenship, holdings in Italy and Switzerland, tax problems), the more mysterious I found her. She was so consummately womanly to behold that I was more intrigued with everything she didn't, couldn't, tell me than with all that she had. Who was behind the sunglasses?

Our first few meetings were quite alike, she offering financial information, occasional personal details, I responding with suggestions for investments. Rarely at first, but with increasing frequency, I would relate an anecdote from my past business ventures. And then one day, when she mentioned a small property on a Swiss lake on the verge of development, I suddenly began to tell her of an incident from my college days with no possible connection to business, and with only the most tenuous of connections to the Swiss property. When she stopped me by saying, "But Mr. L, why in the world are you telling me this?" I stopped, fiddled with a pencil I had been making notes with, and excused myself.

She waved a hand as if to brush my words from the air. "But don't be sorry, I thought it was very sweet. Please continue." The hand was still raised above her head. It fell to her lap gracefully, feather-like, when I picked up my tale from where I'd left off. I was watching her make a similar gesture when the waiter appeared in my line of sight with the bottle of Corton-Pougets, which turned out to be an exquisite wine, perfectly complementing the tourmedos and truffles I had chosen for my entree.

Gianna seemed to be having a fine time with her friends. Her head turned from side to side; the dark hair shifted between her shoulder blades, revealing one strap or the other of what I now recognized as a bone white sequined gown which had a design in front done in red (there were curving lines but I couldn't see the entire design, though I thought I recalled her wearing the same gown another night years before.)

My lapse into autobiography at our business meeting carried over to dinner and this dinner led to another, independent of any financial conference.

The fact that I was married didn't surprise Gianna, and as we became more and more involved it certainly upset me more than her. ("You Americans still take these things seriously, don't you?" I remember her teasingly asking once.)

She allowed me, after our second dinner, to bring her home and, under her subtle direction, seduce her. While we made love she coaxed me, instructed me, made me admire her and become aware of myself. This artful lovemaking was a revelation to me, and I believe she found her role as pleasurable as I found mine; later, as I learned, we were able to take equal pleasure and equal credit in my skill; she had, it seemed, found her American investment.

Often after I finish my entree, I drink from the glass of wine in front of me and ask the waiter to have the rest of the bottle brought to me at the door (since I ate alone I often didn't finish the bottle I ordered, and liked to keep a half full one in my refrigerator at home to relax with or offer a guest); tonight however I decided to sit and drink, and watch: Gianna and her friends hadn't been served their main courses yet. It was easy for me to watch her from my corner, comfortable. It had been over two years since I'd had her before me; it might be a year before I'd see her again. During the long months of my divorce proceedings I only longed for her. For the past half year my memories had been brief, more photographic images than sequences of action, called up by places or scents, even by the stocks I worked with. I cherished these memories but didn't indulge myself. I

felt the danger of wanting Gianna too strongly and in a way which wouldn't suit her. I called her accountant monthly to report on her portfolio: he either advised me immediately, or got back to me the same day (I imagine after consulting her), or asked her advice and gave me word a few days later. She didn't leave an address when she went back to Europe and I understood without asking that the people, friends or lawyers or accountants, wouldn't help me.

Now that she was this close I knew I would speak to her, had already decided to; I needed to tell her what I hadn't had time to when we'd split.

I left her, left off our affair, after two reckless weeks during which I was away from my wife for too long and late and also away from my office more than I should have been. It was one of those spans of time when one is obsessed with a woman and believes that the agony of distance from her is worse than any of the consequences of being nearby. Most often I imagine it happens those first weeks after one acquires a new lover but, as I discovered, there is no guarantee that once those first weeks, those first months have ended it will never occur. My love for this strange foreign woman was bound to blossom into obsession. That this flowering occurred as late as it did is undoubtedly a direct result of Gianna's languorous maturity, of the slow pleasure she took in business, food, clothing, love.

During those last weeks I watched myself in wonder. I am a punctual, careful man with strict habits of time. My dinners out are planned in advance; I eat the same lunch and breakfast each working day; the sports I play change with the seasons. I use the same shaving strokes each morning. I thank Gianna for indulging my foolishness until the last moment, for petting my hair like a poor lost child, for being polite to my wife the last days when she had finally found Gianna's number. Perhaps knowing things would end soon, Gianna waited patiently until that night when I finally agreed to take the phone from her and listen to my wife's just tirade. I had not been where habit told my wife I should have been. She had located me. What could I do but listen?

My wife divorced me. Gianna left for Florence. My obsession withered and died, perhaps never to be born again, as if it were one of those rare centennial flowers, its blossoms reduced to memories and my life too short to see their resurgence.

But for two weeks Gianna graciously accepted my longing and my lust. She allowed me to take her in the mornings or afternoons, delicately succumbing, watching my fruitless attempts to kill the craving I had for her. The air of detachment she exuded, instead of being insulting, only heightened my desire to bury myself in her. Her movements, made only to free me for pleasure, indebted me to her. I neither gamble nor drink to excess, but I felt something of what the dipsomaniac or inveterate gambler must feel in his most feverish indulgence. I still feel a trace of my addiction when calling up scenes from those weeks, the thrill of her strong thin hands behind me as I thrust, the taste of her hair in my mouth, the salty bitterness of her vagina.

With the memory of her vivid inside of me I was unable to conceive of words to say to the physical, separate person before me. She seemed farther from me, across the restaurant, than any airplane could ever take her. She was light, cool, new. I was heavy with memory, with meat and wine. But I needed to speak. I needed to thank her, to tell her my love for her was now free of physical desire, free even of the desire for her presence. If I could get these words into the open perhaps they would relieve me of some of the burden of my divorce and the pain of being away from her without further hope. I would be left alone then, able to live my life feeling I had closed off that wonderful and terrible part of it.

The waiter brought me coffee. Soon after, the Maitre D' arrived with a snifter and a bottle of Corvoisier: traditionally he sent me an after dinner drink; on slow nights

like this one he left me the bottle, allowing me a second glass if I chose. I exchanged greetings with him, inquired about a race horse he owned, told him of two or three stocks I was bullish on. I assured him the cognac was perfect but refused a refill and so took the bottle away with him when he left, somewhat relieved, I imagine, at having saved the Auberge the three or four dollars.

I refused the second glass because I was already timid. I refused it because I was afraid my courage would ebb and instead of stopping at Gianna's table I would walk past her with the secret hope that she would recognize me and call out, knowing all along that it would be impossible for her to see me unless she turned full around at just the right moment.

I stood slowly. I didn't want to seem hurried. I breathed deeply and crossed the room, my eyes focused a few feet ahead of me. I noticed for the first time the regular pattern of the parquet floor and the knotty bases of the chairs, looking like swollen ankles at the bottom of the slim legs.

As I approached the table I looked up. The woman's hair, I now saw, was not raven black, rather brunette; in place of the rich waves I had seen from my table there was now a straight silky-fine drop sheared with impossible exactitude a few inches down the back. The shoulders were too thin and pale. The silk dress was not sequined, not even silk. It was some sort of light cotton woven through with dark thread. The hands were small, doll-like. Looking at those hands, and taking quick steps which drew me to and would soon take me past the table, I experienced what I now construe as a shiver of familiarity but which at the same time was to me little more than a quiver of distaste. All there was for me was to make a quick exit.

I looked straight ahead. At the end of a short corridor a coat girl was peering with down-turned eyes at the shelf she rested against, probably counting tips on the plate in front of her. I felt a tug on my sleeve. My name was called.

I turned, a peeved expression covering my confusion. Was it Gianna after all?

Staring up at me was the dainty, tiny, pale face of my ex-wife. I must have been visibly disconcerted, for she said, "It's not that surprising, is it? We do live in the same neighborhood."

I mumbled a greeting, nodded to her friends. I was shocked into silence a moment, looked too intently into her smiling face: registered in her small eyes, the pupils rimmed with black line so fine the rich brown of the interior seemed to be the perfect filling in of a circle in a child's coloring book, was the fear peculiar to people who emphasize too strongly the importance of even the most casual social encounter. I knew if I didn't speak soon the smile would disappear from my ex-wife's face. I managed something which set her talking of a trip to Toronto from which she'd just returned.

Too disturbed to aid her, I listened in silence, nodding on cue, occasionally smiling to one of the diners if I felt he or she studying me too closely. In place of Gianna, in place of the stranger in cotton dress and brown hair who had replaced Gianna for one unthinking second, my wife! I wanted to flee her. There was pain too close to my wife, our pain, the quiet grief of our last years, the horror of our last months. I hadn't had the time to reconstruct that slice of happiness from our ancient youth. She was there in front of me, the slight wrinkles around her eyes now disguised but the vertical lines above her lips, traces of thousands of cigarettes, all too visible each time her lips formed certain consonants. It was unfair, this trick lighting and weak vision had played on me. It was cruel. I couldn't be near her now with Gianna still fresh before me. I covered one of her hands momentarily, tenderly. She stopped her talk and looked at my hand. I don't know how she explained my sudden departure. I don't know if an explanation was necessary. I only felt the uneasy silence behind me. The uneasy silence and Gianna's absence.

THE NEW RIGHT: STILL HARD AT WORK

James Ridgeway

Soon after last November's elections, New Right strategist Richard Viguerie sat in his office receiving condolences over conservative losses. He had grown openly hostile to Ronald Reagan for abandoning the conservative social issues agenda, and for apparently turning softer on defense.

"We did all right in the last half of the '70s and the early '80s," he said. "We were captains of our own ship. But over the last 18 months, we basically deferred to the White House. We're never going to do that again."

Five months later—even in the wake of Anne Burford's firing and other EPA-related setbacks—the shock troops of the New Right are back on the attack in Washington. They are meeting with surprising, if little-noted, success: conservatives persuaded the Office of Management and Budget to issue new rules on nonprofit organizations, as part of a larger "defund the left" drive. At the same time, they declared war on nuclear freeze supporters, in a campaign warmly embraced by the president.

Indeed, what political energy there is in Washington

these days remains concentrated among audacious conservatives, from whose ranks come the only real Republican initiatives, and on whose footsoldiers Reagan will deeply depend if he runs again.

Major targets of the revitalized conservatives range from the NOW Legal Defense Fund, The Gray Panthers and the Brown Lung Association, to farmworkers' organizations, environmentalists, various volunteer groups, the major federal charity program and certain government social agencies, especially ACTION and the Legal Services Corporation. Since the first of this year, emphasis has shifted to grassroots organizing and to Congress, where a new "Fairness Committee" works to block liberal programs.

Under Viguerie's tutelage, the New Right hopes to widen its purview into a populist crusade reminiscent of George Wallace's in his early days. We are in a titanic battle between the left and the right," said Viguerie. "When we say 'defund the left,' we mean taxpayers' funding. . . . We just think it's immoral for taxpayers to fund Planned Parenthood, or the Legal Defense Fund of the National Organization of Women or Cesar Chavez."

OMB's proposed rules for nonprofits are probably the most significant new development. Under those rules, no portion of the salary of a nonprofit employee may be charged to the government if that employee engages in any political advocacy. The same restrictions would apply to the use of facilities.

If, for example, the executive director of a federally-financed daycare center were to meet with a group of parents after-hours in the office to discuss ways of expanding federal daycare programs, or used the office xerox machine to copy literature on the subject, the organization could become ineligible for federal funds.

These rules were vigorously protested by foundations, public interest groups and some corporations. Defense contractors were particularly critical since they conduct political lobbying activities. At a stormy meeting between officials of the National Association of Manufacturers and Michael J. Horowitz, OMB general counsel, Horowitz reportedly lost his temper and swore at the businessmen. He was subsequently removed from the case, the rules were temporarily withdrawn, and OMB is now expected to proceed with regulations which will strike more narrowly at the nonprofits, but essentially exempt business.

In addition, OMB has initiated a controversial rule which would simplify the process through which the federal government awards monies to states for various projects. Under current regulations, states must provide an opportunity for comment by communities on such federally-financed projects as new sewers, before they are actually undertaken. The new rule eliminates the need for community input, and "leaves us to the whim of the states," says Stephen Chappel, general counsel of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. "It violates our sense of federalism by imposing (the administration's) belief that the states can do anything they want to their sub-state creatures."

Under conservative pressure, the government has also promulgated rules which sharply circumscribe the activities of the Combined Federal Campaign, the charity drive which collects \$100 million annually in contributions from 4 million government workers. The new rules ban gifts to any organization which engages in advocacy lobbying or litigation, affecting such groups as the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Black United Fund and the American Lung Association, which lobbies against smoking. An executive order setting forth the policy is now in effect; the NAACP Legal Defense Fund is challenging it in court.

LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS

Dave Barry

I cannot overemphasize the importance of good grammar.

What a crock. I could easily overemphasize the importance of good grammar. For example, I could say: "Bad grammar is the leading cause of slow, painful death in North America," or "Without good grammar, the United States would have lost World War II."

The truth is that grammar is not the most important thing in the world. The Super Bowl is the most important thing in the world. But grammar is still important. For example, suppose you are being interviewed for a job as an airplane pilot, and your prospective employer asks you if you have any experience, and you answer: "Well, I ain't never actually flied no actual airplanes or nothing, but I got several pilot-style hats and several friends who I like to talk about airplanes with."

If you answer this way, the prospective employer will immediately realize that you have ended your sentence with a preposition. (What you should have said, of course, is "...several friends with who I like to talk about airplanes.") So you will not get the job, because airline pilots have to use good grammar when they get on the intercom and explain to the passengers that, because of high winds, the plane is going to take off several hours late and land in Pierre, South Dakota, instead of Los Angeles.

We did not always have grammar. In medieval England, people said whatever they wanted, without regard to rules, and as a result they sounded like morons. Take the poet Geoffrey Chaucer, who couldn't even spell his first name right. He wrote a large poem called "Canterbury Tales," in which people from various professions — knight, monk, miller, rceiver, riveter, eeler, diver, stevedore, spinnaker, etc. — drone on and on like this:

*In a somer sesun whon softe was
the sunne
I kylled a younge birde ande I ate it
on a bunne.*

When Chaucer's poem was published, everybody read it and said: "My God, we need some grammar around here." So they formed a Grammar Commission, which developed the parts of speech, the main ones being nouns, verbs, predicants, conjectures, particles, proverbs, adjoiners, coordinates and rebuttals. Then the commission made up hundreds and hundreds of grammar rules, all of which were strictly enforced.

When the colonists came to America, they rebelled against British grammar. They openly used words like "ain't" and "finalize," and when they wrote the Declaration of Independence they deliberately misspelled many words. Thanks to their courage, today we Americans have only two rules of grammar:

Rule 1. The word "me" is always incorrect.

Most of us learn this rule as children, from our mothers. We say things like: "Mom, can Bobby and me roll the camping trailer over Mrs. Johnson's cat?" And our mothers say: "Remember your grammar, dear. You mean: 'Can Bobby and I roll the camping trailer over Mrs. Johnson's cat?' Of course you can, but be home by dinnertime."

The only exception to this rule is in formal business writing, where instead of "I" you must use "the undersigned." For example, this business letter is incorrect:

"Dear Hunky-Dory Canned Fruit Company: A couple days ago my wife bought a can of your cling peaches and served them to my mother who has a weak heart and she damn near died when she bit into a live grub. If I ever find out where you live, I am gonna whomp you on the head with a ax handle."

This should be corrected as follows:

"...If the undersigned ever finds out where you live, the undersigned is gonna whomp you on the head with a ax handle."

Rule 2. You're not allowed to split infinitives.

An infinitive is the word "to" and whatever comes right behind it, such as "to a tee," "to the best of my ability," "toma-to," etc. Splitting an infinitive is putting something between the "to" and the other words. For example, this is incorrect:

"Hey man, you got any, you know, spare change you could give to, like, me?"

The correct version is:

"...spare change you could, like, give to me?"

The advantage of American English is that, because there are so few rules, practically anybody can learn to speak it in just a few minutes. The disadvantage is that Americans generally sound like jerks, whereas the British sound really smart, especially to Americans. That's why Americans are so fond of those British dramas they're always showing on public television, the ones introduced by Alistair Cooke. Americans love people who talk like Alistair Cooke. He could introduce old episodes of "Hawaii Five-0" and Americans would think they were extremely enlightening.

So the trick is to use American grammar, which is simple, but talk with a British accent, which is impressive. This technique is taught at all your really snotty private schools, where the kids learn to sound like Elliot Richardson. Remember Elliot? He sounded extremely British, and as a result he got to be attorney general, secretary of state, chief justice of the Supreme Court and vice president at the same time.

You can do it, too. Practice in your home, then approach someone on the street and say: "Tally-ho, old chap. I would consider it a great honour if you would favour me with some spare change." You're bound to get quick results.

Meanwhile, the drive to cripple Legal Services has worn down into trench warfare. The corporation's present Board of Directors is composed of five "recess" appointees who are named by President Reagan, but are formally prevented by Congress from tampering with Legal Services' \$257 million budget. However, these appointees have managed to select a new staff head, Donald P. Bogard, who has begun replacing generally liberal Carter holdovers on the staff with ideological conservatives.

ACTION director Tom Pauken wants to shut down the VISTA program; he asked Congress for a budget of only \$196,000. Instead, Congress allocated \$11 million to employ 1,800 volunteers, but Pauken has been successful in closing offices, cutting back the staff and making dramatic program reductions.

The conservative attack also includes the so-called "hit-lists" of technical and scientific employees at the EPA and in the Agriculture Department whose politics are deemed too liberal. And tax cases brought against the liberal Mother Jones Magazine and the North American Congress on Latin America have raised fears that IRS may gradually become part of the defund-the-left campaign.



"WE'VE DONE A BIT OF REMODELING SINCE YOU WERE HERE, BILL—
YOU'LL HARDLY RECOGNIZE THE OLD PLACE!"

College Press Service

NAMES OF THE TIMES

Barbara S. Kraft

In February, the government shut down Tent City in Houston, Texas. Last year, it dismantled a tent city in Washington, D.C., across the street from the White House. The capital's "Reaganville" was built to protest cuts in federal social programs, but the Texas makeshift community of the unemployed was the real thing. The Reaganvilles of this depression bring to mind the Hoovervilles of 50 years ago, and the effects of both presidents' domestic policies on the millions of unemployed.

Hoover was unwilling to set up federal aid programs; Reagan has been drastically cutting back the federal role, and only recently has he reluctantly agreed to a low-cost jobs program. Both administrations proposed work furloughs for government employees. And both favored

boosts to private enterprise that would eventually "trickle down" to the betterment of the unemployed.

As an expression their appreciation, the masses of "superfluous" people, as the jobless were called in the Great Depression, may very likely honor Reagan as they did Hoover, by fixing his name to what they take to be the product of his efforts. Thus far we have "Reaganomics" (and its offspring "voodoo Reaganomics") and now "Reaganvilles." Soon there will be more. As a guide to what we and the president may look forward to, here is sample of the sardonic nomenclature created by the down and out for the only monuments by which President Hoover is popularly remembered.

Next to the city dumps, at the outskirts of town and on river embankments were the Hoovervilles, settlements of squalid shacks made of tarpaper, tin and scrap iron, furnished with wrecked auto seats and packing boxes. People, sleeping on park benches and over hot-air vents, covered themselves with Hoover blankets made of newspapers. They turned their empty pockets inside out and called them Hoover flags, and carried empty Hoover bags. Farmers called jackrabbits Hoover hogs and, at southern fairgrounds, they cut off the front ends of their cars—which they couldn't afford to drive, in any case—and hitched up their mules for Hoovercart races.

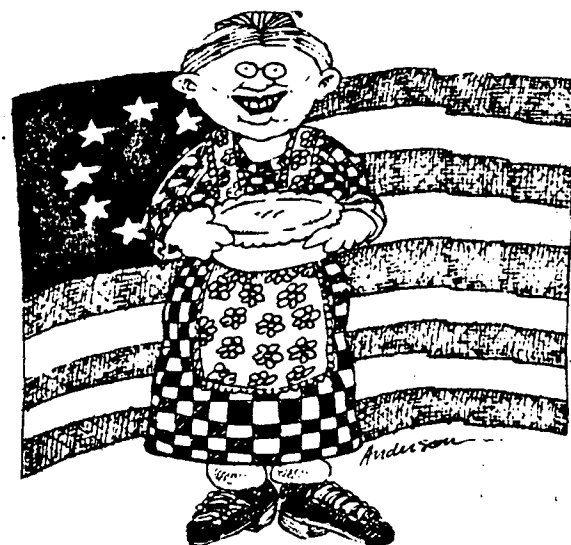
The Bonus Army of unemployed veterans who camped on Washington's Anacostia Flats in 1932, had their own vocabulary: latrines were Hoover villas, the Texans had a goat for a mascot which they named Hoover, and the army troops that stormed the encampment were Hoover's Cossacks.

If someone smiled or was told that business was improving, he was asked, "Is Hoover dead?" Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. reported that Hoover's name became "a prefix charged with hate."

A country with little to laugh at finally turned the president's universal unpopularity into a national joke: Hoover asked Secretary of Treasury Mellon for a nickel to phone a friend. Mellon replied, "Here's a dime—call all your friends."

If unemployment continues at its current rate, it's possible that by the end of President Reagan's term of office, every cabinet secretary may be carrying a pocketful of change.

Random House is stuck with thousands of copies of a business textbook lauding the entrepreneurial abilities of John Delorean. Fourteen thousand copies of the workbook, "Delorean Is Business Today," were distributed shortly before the carmaker's arrest on cocaine charges. "The Delorean story is a glamorous and exciting one," the preface says. "It is a study of the realities, problems and rewards that can be experienced by anyone who has the courage to put his ideas to test in the arena of American enterprise." A Random House editor says the situation is "rather touchy," adding that the publisher is preparing a "special epilogue" and offering to take the textbooks back.



Apple Pie

Residents of San Jose, California, were disturbed when an 8-foot cyclone fence rigged with electronic sensors suddenly appeared around an abandoned gas station. But it was the tower and gun turret that really set them off. It turned out that their filling station had been turned into a training camp for South Koreans who were learning how to guard their country's nuclear reactors. The Stanford Technology Corporation, which is running the program, says it plans to move the training center this month. But that wasn't fast enough for the city, which slapped them with a building code citation, ruling the gun turret is not a normal commercial neighborhood structure.

Video game devotees who want to dress the part can now purchase what appears to be the first arcade accessory... the video pro glove. Carmel Delaney of New Orleans created the glove after noticing blisters and callouses on her son's hands after long sessions with his video-game joystick. The glove—which retails for about \$7—has open fingertips, a soft leather palm, and velcro fasteners. And, says Mrs. Delaney, it provides "an image of professionalism."

Mizuno, the Japanese company that introduced the fielder's glove with built-in sunglasses, has come up with another improvement for the game of baseball. It's the reversible uniform, with home colors on one side, road colors on the other.

The caboose, a fixture of American railroads since the 1850s, may be reaching the end of the line. At least a quarter of the country's 14-thousand cabooses are scheduled to be scrapped within the next five years. The red cars will be replaced by an even little black box which monitors brake pressure and flashes warnings to a computer in the locomotive.

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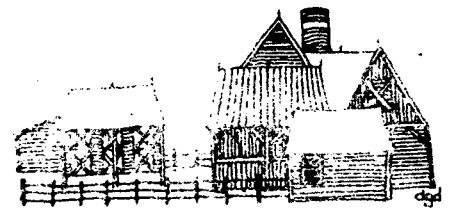
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[To be continued]



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WHY A BLACK CANDIDATE

W. Carl Holman

Whether they are for or against what Jesse Jackson calls the "Proposition," a number of blacks across the country who have been involved in discussions of the political primaries and the 1984 elections are being queried, or chided or lectured to by whites and other blacks on one question: "Why consider a Black presidential candidacy?"

Since the media generally has tended either to present the negatives or to quote one well-known personality in opposition to another, perhaps it might be useful to note some of the reasons why the possibility of supporting a black candidate in the Democratic primaries is under very active consideration by a good many people who are neither on ego trips nor candidates for straitjackets.

Some of the reasons go back as far as conversations about a Carl Stokes candidacy in 1972, even before Shirley Chisholm made her run. Some of them fed into the informal discussions of issues and tactics over many months in 1982 and 1983 prior to the first floating of this latest version of such an initiative.

What follows is an admittedly incomplete rendering of some of the ideas and feelings that have given rise to increasingly serious consideration of the "Proposition."

Many blacks feel they have not fared too well at the hands of white candidates and of a party that has been long on promises and short on rewards for loyal support.

For some it was the short shrift given the Congressional Black Caucus budget last year even by colleagues who privately admitted it made sense; or the me-tooism of Democratic members of Congress on votes harmful to blacks, hispanics, cities and the poor. Or for others it was what was seen as the anti-minority bias of the Hunt Commission's delegate rules; or the crumbs originally allotted by the Democratic National Committee for black voter registration. Even those black Democrats with strong ties to white candidates actually began voicing their unhappiness long before the notion of a black candidacy took form.

One of the minor rites of the pre-presidential primary season over the past several campaigns has been the rapid-recruitment drill as white liberal and moderate candidates hasten to acquire black staff. Some of these, like their hispanic and female counterparts, serve reasonably well. But past history suggests that a black candidate could hardly be less sensitive regarding black and other minority constituencies than some earlier white candidates have been.

Veterans of past campaigns were reminded at one meeting this winter that a black candidate would be unlikely to repeat the fiasco that reportedly occurred some years ago. A white candidate, appearing before a special convocation of black political and civic leaders,

discarded his original text and treated the astonished group to a speech designed to please the white ethnic voters of the region.

Some are convinced that no white candidate is likely to be able to feel and to articulate the objective needs and the pain of blacks as keenly and insistently as would any one of the potential black candidates who have been suggested.

Certainly some of the white candidates now in the field are regarded as friends by several black leaders and have civil rights records ranging from very good to fair. But their trumpets so far have sounded an uncertain note, or have been totally silent on concerns critical to blacks. A black candidate, it is argued, will need no interpreter to express the ache and anger of a black America ravaged by lost jobs, homes and businesses, food for families and schooling opportunities for the young.

As has been true for other racial and ethnic groups, the presence of a black candidate has almost always served as a catalyst to bring out black voters — especially among the ranks of those who do not usually register to vote.

At a time when population shifts and rule changes have made voter participation by blacks, Hispanics and the poor more critical than ever, many feel that the stimulus a black candidate could provide is a potential lever not to be discarded lightly.

In weighing the possibilities of a black presidential candidacy, it has been considered understandable and appropriate that both political leaders and non-politicians be considered.

The rationale for interest in such political leaders as Richard Hatcher, Walter Fauntroy, Andy Young (who

CHUCK STONE

The Black Vote: Facts & Fantasies

After 29 months of being crucified by the most racist president since Woodrow Wilson, America's blacks finally had a national reason to strut.

The euphoric afterglow of Chicago A.W. (After Washington) orbited them so far out, they had the black vote walking on water.

Warned National Urban League President John E. Jacob: "Any national candidate" ignoring that winning Chicago coalition "does so at his peril."

Georgia state Sen. Julian Bond upped the ante: Today, Chicago, tomorrow the nation. A black presidential candidate's prospects have moved "a step closer."

Au contraire, demurred Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher. Chicago proves a black candidate can be elected vice president next year and president in 1988!

Everybody is definitely not smoking the same brand of cigarettes.

House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill Jr. projected blacks "voting in great numbers, something they've neglected to do until now."

And Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young foresaw "increases in black registration, demands for voter registration drives everywhere."

Outside of Young, who stayed closest to the political reality that the Democratic Party is not centered in Chicago, the other comments suffer from varying deficiencies:

- Historical amnesia.
- Political misperceptions.
- Ethnic egotism.

Let's separate the wheat of fact from the chaff of fancy.

✓ **Historical Amnesia.** Critics seem to have forgotten any number of successful examples of "black power at the polls." Blacks are not Johnny-come-latelys. They've been kicking electoral tail for decades. Five dramatic examples are especially noteworthy:

- 1948 — Harry Truman's expert-defying upset was made possible only by large black majorities in California, Illinois and Ohio (a

total of 96 electoral votes). The national vote split and Truman actually slid in with less than a majority (49.9 percent).

- 1960 — John F. Kennedy's squeak-through win (50.1 percent) could not have happened without a 68 percent black vote. This great man promptly responded with a historic watershed of presidential black appointments.

- 1967 — Carl Stokes' tradition-shattering election as Cleveland's first black mayor was a parallel preview of Chicago, 1983 — a 96 percent black vote in tandem with a 15 percent white vote. Contrary to O'Neill's statement about blacks neglecting to vote "in greater numbers," Cleveland black voters outvoted whites that year, 74 percent to 60 percent.

- 1976 — Jimmy Carter tiptoed by Jerry Ford with only 51 percent of the vote but 92 percent of the black vote. Had the black vote shifted 1 percent in Ohio and 5 percent in Mississippi, those 32 electoral votes would have tilted the states — and the presidency — to Ford.

- 1982 — Baltimore's Karl Schmoke was elected as that city's first black prosecutor when the black turnout, normally 30 percent, soared to 50 percent to upset the incumbent. (Chicken George distributed more than 26,000 free chicken dinners to customers showing their voter registration cards.)

So, contrary to pundits discovering their black vote navels for the first time, aroused black electorates are not unusual. Witness Philadelphia's 96 percent black vote against the charter change that retired Frank Rizzo.

✓ **Political Misperceptions.** In the jubilant wake of Washington's seismic conquest, the black vote was practically deified and its mortal limitations ignored.

Everybody forgets that Washington won the Feb. 22 primary with only 36.3 percent of the vote. Almost two-thirds of the voters rejected him.

Despite the massive 98 percent black support, he could not have prevailed without the 18 percent white vote.

That fact points to a textbook case of a political axiom: For the black vote to have pivotal impact, one of two conditions must be present: a split white vote or a supportive percentage of white votes.

Today, despite a record 223 black mayors (Washington will be the 224th), only a few are elected as "political crossovers."

That phenomenon comes from the musical world, where musical groups are seldom able to "cross over" and appeal with equal enthusiasm to black and white kids.

Among big-city mayors, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley is a unique political crossover.

Of the 18 black members of Congress, the two most successful crossovers are California's Rep. Ron Dellums and Missouri's Rep. Alan Wheat, whose districts are respectively 74 and 76 percent white.

✓ **Ethnic Egotism.** While black leaders are chortling over Chicago's joyous cataclysm, their portents for other elections and the dire implications for Ronald McDonald, they, too forget that in presidential and most elections, the black vote is more impotent than important.

In 1952, 1956, 1968, 1972 and 1980, blacks voted between 61 percent and 92 percent Democratic — and the Republicans won the presidency without breathing hard.

Last year, Pennsylvania blacks voted 80 percent against Gov. Thornburgh, who's trying to outdo Reagan in doing blacks in. Thornburgh still won.

True, Chicago will inspire more black registration and heavier black turnouts.

But that's because of Ronald Reagan.

Blacks feel about him the way David did about God's enemies: "I will hate them that hate thee, O Lord; I will hate them with a perfect hatred."

In the Democratic Party, it may be therapeutic for Hatcher to offer predictions about 1984 and 1988, but the Sagebrush Rebellion and Sunbelt Shift are not about to surrender power nationally to blacks.

[Philadelphia Daily News]

has said he is not interested), Louis Stokes and other elected officials seems self-evident. Jesse Jackson, the most often cited non-politician, like Wendell Willkie, has not offered before for public office. Like Adam Powell some of the others now under consideration, he would be a political standard bearer with strong roots in civil rights and religion.

Not that the basic issue is being reduced to personalities alone. Strategies, regional and local concerns, money, timing and a great many other factors will be playing themselves out as the ultimate decision develops in the course of the series of meetings now going on around the country.

Perhaps the most powerful motivating force of all is the often suppressed but persistent urge to take seriously the possibility of something other than second-class citizenship for blacks in the political arena.

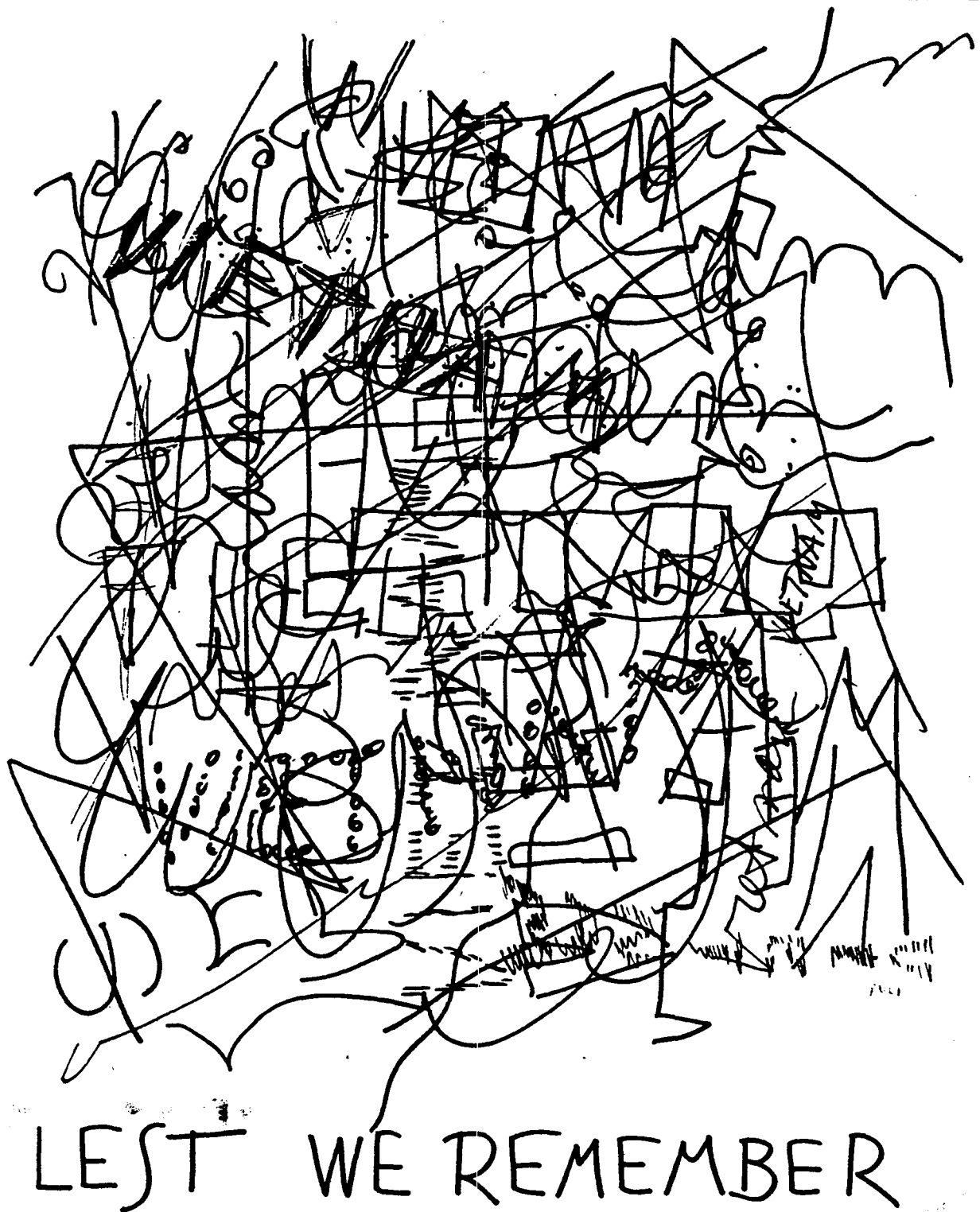
In part, the healthy differences between and among equally committed leaders on either side of the question revolve around the hard choices blacks have had to make from the time of the murderous middle passage to these shores, through the slave revolts, the tumultuous sixties, the retrogressive seventies and the present. Today, as in times past, there is mutually respectful debate between those who contend that the time is not right and those who feel that the time has somehow never been right for minorities to challenge the demeaning double standard that keeps them fractional Americans.

The questioning goes on: Is it too soon or too late for some black American to be added to the list of primary candidates? Is this the right or wrong time to demonstrate once and for all that a black American can project not only a black agenda, but a bridging agenda which can link blacks, hispanics, women, along with the thousands whose views on defense, the family, education and foreign affairs are not now being clearly and forcefully addressed?

As members of the diverse "black family" labor to develop high-priority platform planks, to seek delegates, to sharply increase registration and voting, to identify their political allies and enemies, it is simply not possible for them to ignore as casually and contemptuously as others would prefer the question of a black presidential candidacy.

For while the air is heavy with negatives on that "Proposition," many harbor an uneasy feeling that there may be an even greater danger. The danger of being too careful, too "smart" for our own good. Which is why it is not only fair, but may prove historically significant to consider thoughtfully why so many serious Blacks believe this is an option whose time has come.

Carl Holman is president of the National Urban Coalition.



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A NEW WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Mary Jo McConahay

Whether they are fighting hazardous waste dumps in New England or nuclear testing in Nevada from downwind Utah, a nationwide cadre of housewife activists is giving new definition to the term "women's movement." They are tenacious, often self-educated to the point of expertise about the subject at hand, and not intimidated by officials of industry or government. If self-realization and other personal goals drew many to the women's movement of the 1970's, thousands of others today are entering the public arena—with vigor and success—through the back door of traditional concerns about their husbands and children.

Generally from rural areas or low to middle income suburban neighborhoods, and often—especially in the initial stages of organizing efforts—acting on their own, the housewives seldom perceive themselves as belonging to "a movement." Many, especially among those who live in the south, are allergic to the word "feminist," and often don't even like the term "independent women." Says Sharon Rogers of Wright City, Missouri, who has spearheaded a fight against hazardous waste dumping in her part of the state for 4 years and was recently appointed the only non-professional on the governor's Task Force on Dioxins: "I work with 425 people around here. You can't call any of us independent."

Yet from a country-wide perspective, the pattern followed by these housewife-activists is a remarkable—and often repeated—one. Oregon housewife Carol Van Strum, for instance, may have to travel 30 miles to reach the nearest newspaper stand, but she is in the middle of a national maelstrom of angry mothers pushed into action when they saw their kids suffer.

Eight years ago a county truck sprayed a weed killer containing dioxin alongside a road near the creek where Van Strum's four children, ages 3 to 11, were fishing, and that night they vomited and cried with burning eyes and skin. When the children became sick after another spraying in a nearby forest area, and subsequently the farm's baby geese and chickens were born with "crossed beaks and wings on backwards," Carol Van Strum set out to educate herself about herbicides, and to educate others as well.

Results: a citizens' action group was formed, which by 1977 won a landmark federal court decision to halt spraying of two herbicides, 2,4,5-T and silvex (2,4,5-TP), in Siuslaw National Forest. A subsequent survey of local women showed such a high rate of miscarriages that the EPA ordered spraying of 2,4,5-T in the Alsea Valley also stopped.

The new housewife-activist cadre is not limited by age, race or geography. Last year black women in Afton, North Carolina, led the protests against establishing the state's first toxic waste dump in their community. Navajo women in New Mexico and Arizona are questioning the effects of radon gas on their husbands who work in the uranium mines, and want piles of radioactive tailings removed from 5 sites around the reservation. An organizing conference of 50 "atomic widows" from 6 western states—wives of veterans present at nuclear weapons testing from 1946–1962—met recently in Oakland, California, to learn more about the genetic effects of radiation exposure, and about how to lobby in Washington for recognition of their claims from the Veterans Administration.

Often the efforts may start simply with a letter to the local paper, as Van Strum's did, or with a concerned mother who sparks a chain of afternoon phone calls among housewives, but when the neighborhood groups develop political clout they can turn over local politicians like hot cakes. They have a motivation that keeps them calling and canvassing long after paid personnel have gone home, they make the time to knock on doors, leaflet shopping centers and speak at PTA meetings. The women must remain in the neighborhood. They can see that promises are kept.

It may be precisely because their politics is personal that their success rate is high. "We're in it for the long haul, that's the strength of our group," says Penny

Newman of Riverside, California. Newman's single public effort before organizing neighbors to lobby for clean-up of the nearby Stringfellow Acid Pits resulted in having a stop sign installed on a busy neighborhood streetcorner. "Being president of the local Junior Women's Club taught me to delegate authority," she says.

Like most of the housewife-leaders, 35-year old Newman says until her organizing activities began she had unquestioning trust in local and national agencies: "I first heard about Stringfellow from a concerned mother when I was president of the PTA," she says. "But the Health Department told me to ignore it and I did for five years because like everybody else I believed the authorities were here to protect my health and welfare."

Once the women do become involved, however, they don't let go, even though the struggle at first may be a lonely one. It was the determination over 11 years of stable owner Judy Piatt, whose horses died after dioxin-contaminated oil was sprayed on her stable's dirt floor, that led to the recent \$33 million EPA buy-out of Times Beach, Missouri. Piatt and her two daughters still suffer from a variety of ailments she associates with that exposure.

Yet the women say loneliness and loss of faith are psychological burdens which are easier to bear than the pressure on the family, which seems to be an inevitable result of their new activism. In many areas the industrial target is also the major local employer, so that a victory for health and safety may mean a closed factory or the loss of a husband's job. Even husbands who don't have to worry about their jobs become frustrated: "I hear hazardous waste for breakfast, lunch and dinner and I'm sick of it," exclaimed one California man whose wife has been pushing for an investigation of a nearby dump site.

Lois Gibbs, who led the fight at chemically polluted Love Canal which resulted in evacuation of families and clean-up of the site, and whose own marriage broke up during the time, says some husbands and children may also be shaken when mom sheds the household routine for hours in the library or at the typewriter. "They are used to dinner at five and the kids are used to being ferried around," she says.

Housewife-activists themselves report that a kind of personal development comes out of the process of challenging agencies and industries.

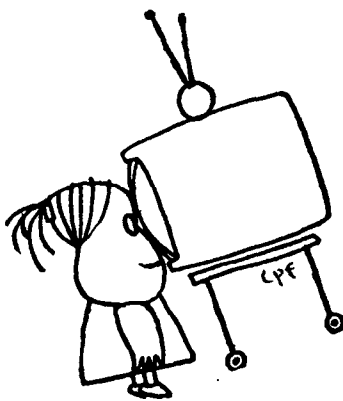
Carol Van Strum studied botany in college but regrets she "ran out of money" before she could finish her degree. Yet she has analyzed a mountain of data on herbicide effects, interviewed scientists, sprayers and victims and recently wrote a moving account of the human dimensions of herbicide use in America ("A Bitter Fog," Sierra Club Books, May 1983 publication).

Penny Newman says what she learned around Stringfellow gave her a crash course in politics and "opened my eyes about a lot of other issues" including those of farmworkers, who are exposed to a variety of pesticides, and to anti-nuclear issues "because now I see what we are not told" in efforts to keep the public from "alarm."

Lois Gibbs now runs an agency near Washington, D.C., which dispenses organizing and technical assistance to community groups with toxic and pollution problems. Since the EPA scandals and shake-ups have been in the news, she says, there has been an "extreme increase" in calls, many from newcomers to environmental issues who have been alerted by the national news and are beginning to look around their own county and neighborhood. The vast majority of the groups, says Gibbs, consist of organized women.

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Graffiti



The Chairman of a White House science review panel on acid rain says he's not concerned if acid rain is damaging buildings or other properties in the US. "In terms of Athens, it might be important," conceded William A. Nierenberg, chairman of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy's acid rain peer review panel. But Nierenberg quickly added that he believes material damage from air pollution isn't a major issue in the US.

"In New York City, no buildings last more than 20 or 30 years anyway," Nierenberg explained, saying that many office buildings are demolished to make way for parking lots. When another member of the panel commented that acid rain might affect not only office buildings, but historic structures such as churches, Nierenberg said, "There are some I'd like to see torn down anyway."

—Coal Outlook, Dec. 6, 1982

Breaking new journalistic ground, the Shawnee, Kansas, *Journal-Herald*, a suburban Kansas City weekly, has started publishing pet obituaries. Editor and publisher Bill Shippee says he started the "pet passing" publication after realizing that many people mourn the deaths of their animals as if they were family members. The paper's obits aren't just for dogs and cats. One recently noted the demise of Riley, a two-year-old pet mouse. "Riley was a member of the Sacred Runners of the Wheel, and enjoyed eating oatmeal and cheese," the notice said. "He leaves Mr. and Mrs. Roberts, two guinea pigs and a cat."

Backers of a contest to find an opening line to "the worst of all possible novels" say they've received thousands of entries from all over the world. The Bulwer-Lytton Fiction Contest—named after the Victorian writer who once began a novel with "It was a dark and stormy night"—was launched in jest by the English Department at San Jose State University. But, says Professor Scott Rice, "We have entries from every state and about 35 foreign countries." Here's a sample from Pennsylvania: "As she fell face down into the black muck of the mud-wrestling pit, her sweaty, 300-pound opponent muttering soft curses in Latin on top of her, Sister Marie thought, 'There is no doubt about it: the Pope has betrayed me!'"

CITY DESK Cont'd

Francisco, Detroit, Cleveland and Washington, DC. Even where franchises have been awarded, the recession has often slowed system construction. And companies that promised the moon to win city franchises are trying to renegotiate their contracts to install more modest systems." Is anyone in DC listening?

Catholic University is planning to offer a degree in lobbying beginning next fall. Courses to be offered include "Customs of Each House of Congress," and "Interest Group Theory." Says one of the originators of the idea, lobbyist John Stack, "We can't teach senators or congressmen, but we can teach our students not to give a bribe." Stack still has to raise \$500,000 to get the program off the ground but several corporations have expressed interest in the idea.

Here's something that will be fun to fight about. Nadine Winter has introduced a bill to establish a Flag Design

Commission to recommend a new flag for the city. We still like the idea of the motto "No Right Turn" rampant on a field of red. Or a nice ancient Greek looking couple leaning on a vase over the slogan first proffered by Carl Bergman, "Nothing Ventured."

The Barry administration has asked the Joint Committee on Landmarks for permission to demolish the Tivoli Theatre at 14th & Park NW for commercial development. The Tivoli, which is in disrepair but structurally sound, is one of the last great movie palaces in town. The Save Tivoli organization has asked the landmarks commission to designate the building an historic landmark.

Wilhelmina Rolark and H.R. Crawford have introduced legislation that would prohibit those under 16 from being in video arcades between 8 am and 3pm on school days. Nadine Winter has introduced legislation prohibiting those under 16 being in video arcades after 10 pm on school nights. No bill has been introduced to enforce brushing teeth after each meal for those under sixteen, but the way things are going, don't be surprised if one is being drafted.

AROUND TOWN

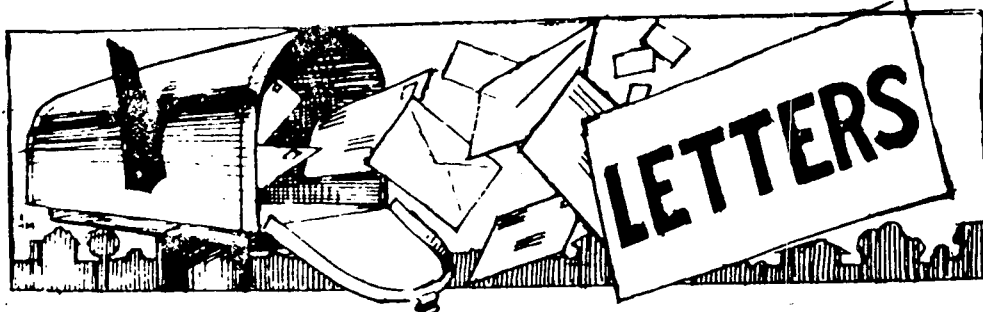
- The Glover Park-Burleith-Foxhall Village Neighborhood Commission has republished the DC Tenants Survival Guide, for the first time in three years. The new version contains updated information concerning DC housing laws and tenants' right and is an extremely useful tool for tenants, housing and legal organizations and city and private agencies. The guide can be ordered in bulk for 5 cents a copy. Call ANC 3B at 338-2969.

- A comemoration is being planned for this August of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki atomic blasts. Info: 347-9541.

- The city is expanding its diagonal parking program in Adams Morgan to include the block of 18th Street between California and Kalorama.

- The stadium farmer's market opens again on May 17. The market will be open from noon to dusk on Tuesday and Thursdays and from 9 to 3 on Saturdays. More than 30 farmers are expected to offer fruits and vegetables, flowers and herbs, seafood and other fresh products.

Based on last year's figures, the it epects that the market



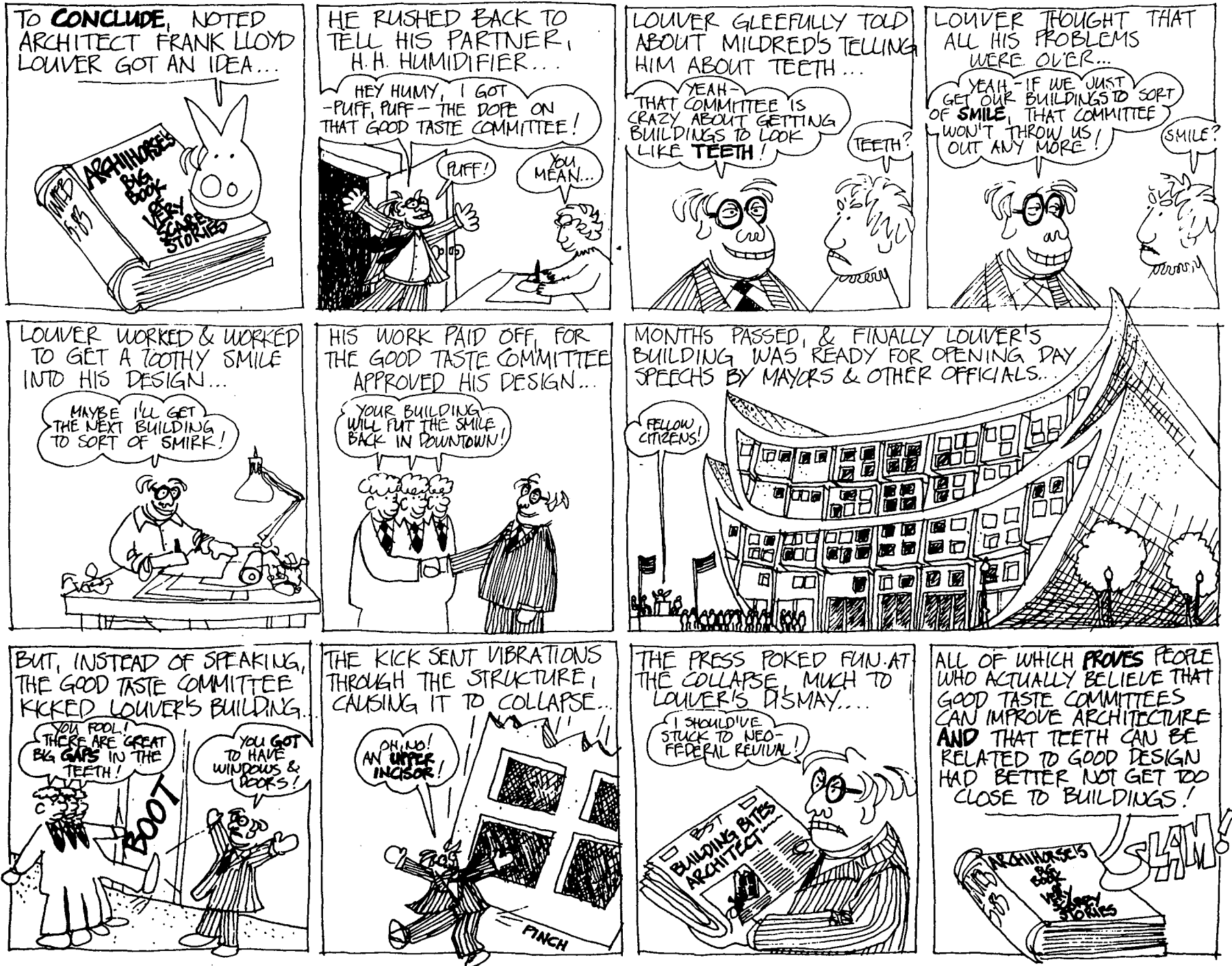
While we are glad to see a group like the Art Deco Society get roses, you took an unfair swipe at Don't Tear It Down. To call us "Victorianistas" when many of our recent landmark applications have been for 20th century buildings is highly inaccurate.

In the past six months, we have made presentations at public hearings for landmark designation for two buildings: the Warner Theatre (built 1924) and the Homer Building (1913). We are waiting for the Joint Committee on Landmarks decision. We are also waiting for hearings for other landmark applications we submitted two years ago: the Masonic Temple (1908) and the C&P Telephone Company buildings at 722 12th St (1903) and 730 12th Street (1929). The latter, designed by Voorhees, Gmelin, and Walker is one of DC's finest Art Deco buildings.

We welcome the arrival of the Art Deco Society. In fact, we have them a forum in February. We welcome your interest in historic preservation and would appreciate your giving us credit for our lively interest in landmark quality buildings of all periods.

BOB PECK
President
Board of Directors
Don't Tear It Down

[The fact is that with a few recent exceptions DC's Art Deco architecture was largely ignored until the arrival of the Art Deco Society. We welcome DTID's commitment to eclecticism and trust it will extend to buildings that are historically important, if not architecturally attractive, such as Rhodes Tavern].



will be used by more than five thousand people a day. The market is managed by the United Planning Organization.

- The Cleveland Park Neighborhood Commission has asked the Joint Committee on Landmarks to designate Twin Oaks an historic landmark.

- The Ward II Democrats have formed a Democratic organization and elected Linda Grigsby chair. Other officers are Gottlieb Simon, Sue Schumacher, Cynthia S. Bryant, and Berard Demczuk. The group is petitioning the state committee for official recognition.

- The DC Community Humanities Council has made a \$16,000 grant to UDC's Institute for District Affairs for a series of public meetings and papers on humanities and cable TV. Also funded was a series on "Readings in American Values," a walking tour and annotated map of important sites in the District's history of labor; Everyday Theater for a dramatic presentation on crime, an Islamic film and lecture series, the first phase of an oral history project at Lorton, and a local exhibition of the NEH-funded exhibit, "This Mighty Dream," which depicts the history of social protest movements in the US.

- Washington Area Jews for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace supports a freeze on Jewish settlements in occupied territories, the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, the right of Israel to exist safely and securely behind internationally recognized borders, the creation of an independent Palestinian state beside Israel, negotiations between Israel and legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, including the PLO, and the granting of Prisoner of War status to all Palestinians captured by the Israeli Defense Forces. The group is meeting very other week at a member's home. Info: WAJIPP, PO Box 4491, DC 20008.

- There will be a folk concert and dance May 21 from noon to ten pm for the benefit of the Coalition for the Homeless. The event will be held at the Takoma Park Junior High School, 7611 Piney Branch Road,

Takoma, Md. Tickets are \$5. Children under twelve are free.
Info: 328-1184.

- Zacchaeus Medical Clinic, an inner city facility staffed by volunteers, will hold an open house on May 15 from ten to three. Free blood pressure testing and health care demonstrations. 1329 N St.

- The Eisenhower Foundation has donated \$50,000 to Jubilee Housing in Adams-Morgan to implement an anti-crime self-help program over the next two and a half years.



The D.C. Community Humanities Council announces its "Humanist-in-Residence" program again and will consider proposals to fund the part or full-time salary (from \$4,000 to \$25,000) of a qualified humanities scholar at a host institution.

The goal of the proposal is to expand and enhance public understanding and appreciation of the humanities by supporting humanities scholars in settings where they are not normally employed. The program will fund a Ph.D. or a Ph.D. candidate (one who has completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree except for the dissertation), in a core discipline of the humanities, i.e., history, philosophy, languages, literature, jurisprudence or history and criticism of the arts, to work in an institution which would normally be without the resources, methods, and insights of the humanities. The Council is particularly interested in proposals to bring humanities scholars to such institutions as the D.C. government, the judicial or library systems, and hospitals.

All proposals must be submitted by non-profit organizations or institutions; be designed to use a humanities scholar in a way not before attempted by the institution; provide a plan for receiving grant funds and disbursing them to the scholar; guarantee the implementation of the project within the time designated, and provide a plan of lectures/dialogues/discussions with the public and members of the institution about the project and its goals.

Deadline for proposals is September 21.
Info: 347-1732.

• Washington Women Outdoors offers a spring program of overnight trips, one-day outings, workshops, and classes: bicycling, hiking, backpacking, rockclimbing, canoeing, sailing, windsurfing, specialized first aid and outdoor leadership training. Novices and experienced outdoorswomen are welcome. Free spring program brochure by calling 951-0051 or by writing to Washington Women Outdoors, Box 301, Garrett Park, Md. 20896.

• Save the Tivoli will be holding a fund raising ball with dancing, theatrical entertainment, buffet and drinks. Proceeds will be used to help save the Tivoli Theatre located at 14th and Park Roads, Northwest. The ball will be held on June 11 at the Hubert Humphrey Building penthouse, 3rd and Independence Ave.

The Tivoli Theatre was built in 1924 and was dubbed the "temple of the arts" by the Washington Post. Designed by Thomas W. Lamb, in the Italian Renaissance style, the theatre has an exterior faced with ornamental polychrome terracotta, a red tile roof, and interior stairways decorated with marble trim. It was the first theatre in Washington to provide "talking movies" on a permanent basis. The orchestra pit can be lowered and raised during a performance, one of the first theatres in the country to have this feature. Built upon the cantilever system, the Tivoli was recently declared "safe and sound" by the District government. Keiths, The Place, The Capitol, and the Metropolitan have all fallen to the wrecker's ball. Now only the Tivoli remains, Washington's last surviving relic of the golden age of movies and vaudeville.

Save the Tivoli believes theatre can be self-supporting with ten storefronts and thirty-five offices incorporated into the original design.

The Barry administration has applied to the Joint Committee on Landmarks for permission to tear the building down to make way for a commercial complex.

Tickets for the ball are \$25, available from Toast the Tivoli, 3325 Holmead Place NW, DC 20010. Info: 332-9381.

• The D.C. Energy Office has released an updated directory of individuals, businesses and organizations who have experience in carrying out energy efficiency improvements to buildings and homes to reduce energy costs.

The *Energy Services Directory* lists approximately 150 architects, engineers and contractors in the Washington metropolitan area with experience in energy conservation techniques such as audits, retrofits, designing energy management systems and analyzing utility bills.

Persons who would like a free copy of the *Energy Services Directory* should call the D.C. Energy Hotline, 724-2100.

• Persons from abroad who are in the United States because of conditions that made it difficult or impossible to remain in their homelands have become a significant element in the Washington area population. They probably number 200,000 to 250,000, and make up one out of every 12 to 15 residents, according to a new study by Eunice and George Grier.

• The Capitol Hill Arts Workshop will conduct its 11th summer session from June 20 through August 26. In addition to 9-week adult courses in photography, pottery, silk-screening, dance, music and drama, there will be 3 children's camp sessions, of 3 weeks each. Info: 547-6839.

• On May 14, at 8:00 p.m., there will be a concert to benefit Medical Aid to El Salvador. The concert will have an African and Latin focus with the Moose Dancers and Drummers, Steve and Peter Jones, Teatro Nuestro, Carlos Arrien, and Aquiles Magana performing. The concert is sponsored by the D.C. Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. It will be held at the St. Stephens Church at 16th and Newton Street, N.W. Tickets are \$5.00. They will be available in advance from D.C. CISPES, and will also be sold at the door. Info: 822-9712.

• Tenley Study Center, a non-profit educational center, has announced college entrance courses starting in June which it guarantees will boost students' scores at least 100 points.

The first of the eight-session summer courses, which will be held Wednesday evenings and Saturday mornings starting June 1, will concentrate on the use of sample test questions similar to those used on actual SATs. The Study Center has offered SAT preparation courses since 1965.

Tuition for the eight sessions of the course is \$245 which includes all study materials. Info: Tenley Study Center at 4300 Garrison St., N.W., D.C. 20016 (362-2419.)

The number of condominiums in Metropolitan Washington has jumped 6,000 percent since 1970, according to a new report from the Council of Governments. The COG report also shows that developers are offering more condo units for rent now because of difficulties in trying to sell them.

The report shows there are over 100,000 condominiums in the area, the majority of them converted rental apartments. The District has the most conversion condominiums. Its 14,987 converted rental units amount to nearly one-fourth the region's total.

• Charlene Jarvis has introduced legislation that would require that all developers constructing buildings worth more than \$20 million would have to submit a plan to provide residential housing units equal to not less than ten percent of the value of the commercial structure. The Jarvis bill is similar to a program in San Francisco which provided \$17 million in housing the first year and double that amount in each year thereafter. The housing, under the Jarvis bill, could be for any income level.

• Dave Clarke and Frank Smith have taken strong positions in support of keeping Children's Hospital in charge of the children's clinics in Shaw and Adams Morgan, rather than turning them over to the city to run, as the Barry administration is planning.

• As we went to press, the city council had taken at least a temporary stand in favor of holding the ANC elections this fall. Since there is a feeling in certain quarters, such as the mayor's office and the editorial board of the Washington Post, that elections can be cancelled in case of rain or bureaucratic problems, there is no guarantee that the council won't have backed down by the time you read this.

Nonetheless, John Wilson deserves thanks for pointing out to his colleagues the absurdity of DC cancelling an election

on such shallow grounds. The fact is that, even with the embarrassing screw-ups we have experienced, nothing has occurred in past elections that justifies the extreme measure of cancellation. Having to check through thousands of challenged ballots is tiresome and should be unnecessary, but there is no evidence that the confusion has been manipulated for the purposes of fraud. Further, while the city should have redistricted the ANCs long ago, the fact that it hasn't doesn't justify doing away with the elections entirely. When the city gets its act together, it could simply hold a special election for the new districts.



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REPORT CARD

2. Opposed cancelling 1983 elections (+)

BARRY - ⊕ CLARKE - + + + - + ⊕ SMITH - - + +

3. Opposed delay in effective date of no-fault insurance (+)

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4. Supported increased funding of schools over council budget (+)

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5. Sponsored bill repealing no-fault insurance (-)

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6. Supported delay in official submission of comprehensive plan to allow more community lobbying (+)

⊕ - + + + + + + + +

7. Favored repair and deduct legislation (+)

+ - + - + + +

8. Introduced law extending condominium conversion regs. (+)

+ + + + + + +

9. Introduced bill for shared equity housing purchases (+)

+ + + + + + +

10. Supported bill restricting youths in video arcades (-)

- + - + - - +

11. Supported demolishing the Tivoli Theatre (-)

-

12. Supported excessive writedown of land at Metro Center (-)

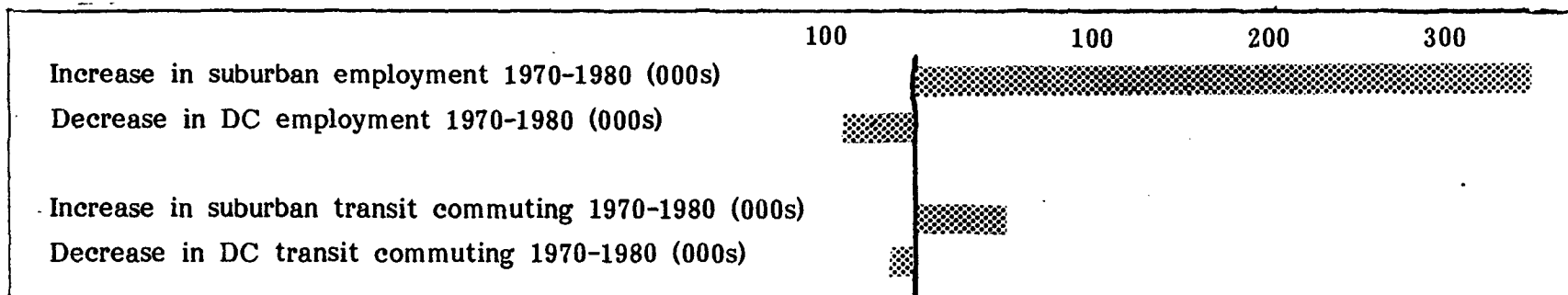
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1983 GRADE

7% 41% 25% 0% 100% 100% 40% 40% 75% 92% 25% 25% 71% 50%

This report card is based on our current information as to positions and action taken by the mayor and city council on various issues. A + inside a circle indicates a switch from a previous negative position, worth one-half credit. Additions and corrections should be sent or called to the Gazette, 232-5544.

TEN YEARS LATER



The chart above, based on recent figures from the Census Bureau, illustrates two recurrent themes of the Gazette over the years. First, DC's "economic development" efforts have largely been for naught and, in some cases, actually reduced city employment. Second, the subway was the wrong way to go about public transportation. DC, over the past decade, has had a net decline in jobs of 38,500 despite the all too familiar litany of pet projects of the Board of Trade and two mayors. DC also has had a decrease in the number of workers using public transportation (down 14,000) and the percentage of transit riders among the total workforce has remained static. In the suburbs, while there has been an increase in transit ridership, the percentage of transit commuters has only gone up from 8 percent to ten percent. Although the subway and bus system have clearly been designed to benefit suburbanites, DC has almost as many transit commuters as all the suburbs combined. Thirty-eight percent of DC workers rely on mass transit, although you'd never know it from the way Metro operates.

We have, from time to time, pointed out the tremendous importance of suburb to suburb commuting, something else that Metro has chosen to ignore because it didn't fit in with the subway master plan. Now, Metro general manager Richard Page says Metro did "not have the time or the ability" to meet this need.

Says Ronald F. Kirby, director of transportation studies at the Urban Institute, "We're building a high-capacity system on relatively few corridors with relatively few stations. The census shows what we need is flexibility. *** There was a lot of wishful thinking about how the system would reshape the area."

THE LITTLE TAVERN STORY

Lynne Heneson & Larry Kantor

If you've passed North Capitol Street and Massachusetts Avenue lately, just by the Main Post Office, you've seen the newly renovated, gleaming green and white facade of Little Tavern #6, a Washington landmark since 1931. The flagship of a chain of 34 hamburger stands, Number 6 is the first Little Tavern renovated by new owner Gerry Wedren and architect Tim Crosby. Deco enthusiasts should applaud, for the renovation preserves founder Harry Duncan's vision of a clean, well-lit hamburger stand, resembling a tudor cottage plunked down on a city street. Today, as in 1931, the Little Tavern cottage is avant garde, featuring the bold design elements of the modern age—streamlining, neon, new materials in innovative ways. The effect is striking, demonstrating Little Tavern's timeless appeal. The combination of traditional form with modern materials and design images makes Little Taverns an important example of Art Deco. Even more, Little Taverns are a legend, not only as vernacular architecture, but also for their meaning to all who knew them, from corporate magnate to grill man to solitary midnight patron. They are an institution that speaks of social as well as architectural history.

First to architecture. Are Little Taverns properly considered a part of the Art Deco style? Aren't they better classified with such 20th century commercial oddities as the "teepee" motels and teapot gas stations which used distinctive, often bizarre images to advertise their product?

The answer to these questions is contained in the story of the hamburger joint in America as an Art Deco phenomenon. In general, Art Deco architecture expresses optimism about the future through its use of new materials and new technology. It pays homage to the past in its respect of the decorative arts but rejects the past's rigidity in favor of a self-consciously modern, streamlined, often futuristic mode. The Deco attitude is clear in the development of roadside commercial restaurants in the 1930's. White Castles, White Towers, Little Taverns, all of which popped up more or less simultaneously across the country, had looks that stuck in the public mind. Seizing the characteristic Art Deco ideal of speed and simplicity best shown in airplane design, the architects of these buildings slowly eliminated decoration and detail, until what was left was a streamlined emblem. The store became a billboard and the motorist read the message quickly. Cleanliness, efficiency, convenience, homeyness—all of these were conveyed at a glance.

The design history of the Little Taverns reflects these developments. Louisville #1, the first Little Tavern built in 1927 was clearly retrospective. Fashioned of rustic Jerusalem stone, it featured the crenelated roof line of medieval castles. This roof line was never repeated, as it evoked the gothic rather than the modern esthetic. Allegiance to the past was important, but it came through in the Little Tavern name, a haven for weary travelers, and in other English country touches, such as gabled lintels, small mullioned windows and a steeply sloping shingled roof. These elements and the image they evoke are part of the Little Tavern to this day.

As the years passed, founder Duncan remained committed to the basic tavern style, but as a modern businessman, experimented with different construction materials. Like the other hamburger chain owners, he sought to cut construction and service costs, improve appearance and promote the restaurant's image

of cleanliness and reliability. Ceramic block exteriors were succeeded by white glazed brick. The White Tower and White Castle chains in the Midwest tried glazed tile and Vitrolite, attractive but impractical to maintain. Although it is not clear which chain used it first, the breakthrough came with the use of porcelain enameled steel panels for the inside and outside of the buildings. Before this time, porcelain had been used only for appliances. Duncan's Baltimore design team of Charles E. Brooks, Engineer and George E. Stone, architect, of the Stonebrook Corporation, bought Duncan the first design for a Little Tavern using prefabricated porcelain enameled steel panels.

Porcelain enameled steel had great currency among the design innovators of the time. Walter Dorwin Teague and Norman Bel Geddes used it in their designs for the Texaco and Mobil gas station prototypes of the 1930's. According to a 1930 trade publication, porcelain enamel embodies

cleanliness, charm and advertising sales value. These products were selected because of their advertising appeal through harmonious color constructions as well as for the permanent sanitary appearance and economy of construction.

Here then was the perfect material—virtually maintenance-free, it retains its shine and when lit at night with Little Tavern's gooseneck lamps, gleams like a rhinestone. It enabled the buildings to be standardized and built for less. (Trivia note: the only Little Tavern which still has its original porcelain enamel exterior is #14 on M Street in Georgetown.)

Yet even as the Little Taverns came to have hard shining skins and insides that were compact and functional, all chrome and tile, mirror and stainless steel, they never lost their totemic value as old-fashioned country taverns. The tavern may have been streamlined and neon-lit, but it was always a tavern in the town, a friendly, familiar place to stop. If indeed, as Michael Kernan recently wrote, Art Deco is "the past as remembered by the future," then there is no doubt the Little Taverns are Art Deco.

There is another side to the Little Tavern story—its value as social history. Even today, the atmosphere of Little Tavern's world corporate headquarters, a modest Deco building behind the Silver Spring store, takes the visitor back to the era when Horatio Alger could begin his climb to fortune behind the counter of a hamburger joint.

Up a flight of blue-lit stairs, you climb to the reception area which has red leatherette chairs and original Little Tavern menus on walls of maple paneling. The stamp of Harry Duncan is everywhere, from his portrait hanging over a magnificent scale model of a prototype Little Tavern to the storeroom full of boxes with original blueprints, cash register tapes, signs and china bearing the Little Tavern insignia to the meticulous scrap-

books that Duncan amassed from 1929 to the mid-1960's. In these scrapbooks are matchbook covers, Little Tavern paper wallets, newspaper stories, ads, insurance policies, burger bags, trade magazines, stationary—every conceivable piece of Little Tavern memorabilia. It is an archivist's dream come true.

Duncan, who at 83 still comes to the office 3 days a week, was a St. Louis haberdasher who opened his first hamburger joint, Baby Beef, in 1925. Five Baby Beefs later, he moved to Louisville and in 1927 built that rusticated stone castle, the Mother Shop, Little Tavern #1. The first Little Tavern in Washington was built in 1928 at 3701 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Mr. Duncan was a benevolent but firm entrepreneur who ran his empire as a good father runs his family—with discipline tempered with love. The company cared. Nowhere is this caring more evident than in the yearbook the company published for many years, called *Fresh Fried Facts*. FFF featured pictures of every Little Tavern employee, tongue-in-cheek "awards" for "Best Dressed", "Laziest", "Biggest Feet," poems and anecdotes of life at Little Tavern. Duncan knew well the value of inculcating hard work and company loyalty. The 1930 yearbook carried "The Ten Commandments" for employees, stressing courtesy, cleanliness and upright behavior.

The stunning renovation of the North Capitol shop is a success story for this Washington institution. The shop was a pre-porcelain construction—it uses the whitewashed brick that marked the earliest Little Taverns. The familiar steeply pitched kelly green roof is now echoed in "cooltent" awnings over the windows. The decorative gable over the doorway is extended in a peaked canopy running out toward the curb. Neon under the eaves replaces the old gooseneck lamps to give shadowless illumination to the night facade. The use of materials preserves the look of bold green fields that serve both as decorative elements and as a billboard for the Little Tavern logo and the "buy 'em by the bag" slogan.

Inside #6 is a glistening wonder. Modern green formica countertops and backlit plastic menu boards using original graphics blend well with the existing decor. Enamel had been added to the interior walls of Number 6 sometime since its construction, but it gleams even more brightly now with two cool white stripes of neon running the circuit just under the ceiling. The result is more direct and honest than any of the other fast-food franchises, better by far than Roy Rogers formica rodeo-cum-saloon or MacDonald's yellow and orange playground.

Altogether the renovation is a successful adaptation of the old design, with enough left intact to please customers who seek the look and feel of the Little Taverns they remember from childhood. Yet is modern enough for today's young fast-food fan. Wedren and Crosby remain faithful to the Deco spirit of Little Tavern—preserving the best from the past while creatively exploiting the best of the future, making a synthesis that transcends burgers by the bag, hot coffee and pies. That weary traveler... time... has found his friendly wayside tavern, right here in Washington, 1983. ΔΔΔ

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